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ABSTRACT

Seminar papers on the recent immigration of women from the Caribbean, Latin America, and Africa are collected in the first part of this two-part book. Titles (and authors) of the papers are: (1) "The New Immigration: The Female Majority" (Roy S. Bryce-Laporte); (2) "Race, Ethnicity, and Sex in the Recent Immigration: Some Preliminary Comments" (Delores M. Mortimer); (3) "Black Immigrant Women in 'Brown Girl, Brownstones'" (Paule Marshall); (4) "Caribbean Migration: A Perspective on Women" (Monica Gordon); (5) "Goin' Abroad': Working Class Jamaican Women and Migration" (A. Lynn Bolles); (6) "Migration and Sex Roles: A Comparison of Black and Indian Trinidadians in New York City" (Judith Burgess and Meryl James-Gray); (7) "Profile of a Haitian Migrant Woman" (Susan Hulsebusch Buchanan); (8) "Ethnic, Racial Attitudes among Professional and Managerial Black Women: Research Note" (Audrey Johnson); (9) "Nigerian Women and Child-Bearing Practices in Washington, D.C.: A Summary of Research Findings and Implications" (Dorothy Payne Bryan); (10) "Caribbean Women and the Brain Drain" (exerpt, Donna Gray); (11) "Black, Female, and Foreign-Born: A Statement" (Barbara T. Christian); (12) "Ma, I Remember" (poem, Eugenia A. Franklin-Springer); (13) "Latinas Lead the Way" (Lucy M. Cohen); (14) "Exporting Capital and Importing Labor: The Role of Women" (Saskia Sassen-Koob); (15) "The Differential Incorporation of Hispanic Women Migrants in the United States Labor Force" (Helen I. Safa); (16) "Evaluating a Work Incentive Program: Report on Employability Services for Hispanic Women" (Palmira N. Rios); (17) "Mexican Undocumented Women Workers in Los Angeles: A Research Note" (Reynaldo Baca and Dexter Bryan); (18) "Black Cubans in the United States: Basic Demographic Information" (Lourdes Casal, with Yolanda Prieto); (19) "Obituary to a Female Immigrant and Scholar: Lourdes Casal (1938-1981)" (Roy S. Bryce-Laporte); (20) "An Afterword" (Elsa M. Chaney); (21) "Women and Migration: A Bibliography"; (Delores M. Mortimer) introduces the second part of the volume, which consists of a sizable, but selected bibliography on non-European female immigrants and related topics. A list of contributors and seminar panelists is included. (KH)

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The Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies, founded in 1973, is a part of the Smithsonian's Center for the Study of Man. The Research Institute focuses on immigration flows which have been affected by legislation since 1965. It also explicitly includes American extraterritorial jurisdictions among its scholarly concerns.

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*To two hardworking immigrant mothers
Lenora E. McKinney-Mortimer
and
the late Myra Celestina Laporte de Bryce*

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INTRODUCTIONS

THE NEW IMMIGRATION: THE FEMALE MAJORITY

Roy S. Bryce-Laporte

In 1965 the last comprehensive federal legislation on immigration and related policy guidelines were passed by the Congress of the United States. At this very moment, while this editorial introduction is being prepared, a joint Select Committee of Congress and the Executive Branch has finally concluded almost two years of hearings, investigation, research and deliberations on the patterns and problems of the immigration which was occasioned in large measure as a response to the Immigration and Naturalization Act at present operative in this country. A wide cross-section of the American public, and interested parties outside the United States including prospective immigrants, await anxiously Government's "final" decisions on immigrants-in-waiting and future immigration.

Of course, immigration has been an old, vital and continuing process in the peopling and formation of the American nation. From that perspective, there has been and perhaps will always be a "new" immigration. However, we cannot underestimate the powerful forces at work to make certain not only that this present movement be terminated but that it be the "last" great immigration into the

United States. Until then, the term "new immigration" is still relative; it refers to time and type of movement. Thus, there is justification for applying it to the present movement as a "new" immigration, to be more precise in some cases a new *type of immigration*.

Accordingly, there are ample reasons, also, for recognizing as "new" immigrants all those persons who entered the United States with permanent resident status as of 1965 or who, having entered before, proceeded to adjust their status so as to become residents as a result of the facilitations provided by the Act. First, the Act itself represented a new development in the history of United States immigration legislation and as such showed marked distinctiveness from its predecessors. For all purposes, it did away with the principle of national origin quota system and the racist or regional biases associated with that principle. It attempted to establish parity of privilege of entry for the peoples of both hemispheres and almost all nations, whereas its predecessors favored entry of citizens of Western and Northern nations and of independent countries of the Western Hemisphere. The new Act stressed family reunion as one of its objectives whereas its predecessors often promoted family disruption as if it had to be a long-lasting fact of life in the immigration process, especially in the case of imported Asian laborers. The new Act contains a guidelist of preferences which is based on the degree of kin relations

between applicants and sponsors as well as compatibility between the occupational status claimed by immigrants and the indices of United States labor needs. During the several years since its passage some modifications and adjustments have been made to the basic Act and its related policies. There are, still, however several bills before Congress, proposals before policymakers, even cases before the courts asking for changes in legislation, policies, rulings and their modes of implementation.

Second, the pattern of immigration following the issuance of the Act has also been very distinctive. It marks only the second peak period of massive entry of immigrants into the United States for this century. More importantly, the post-1965 period reveals a significant shift in sources and as is true in some cases the reordering of sources of immigration to the United States; however, on the continental level Asia has replaced Europe. On the national level, Mexico retains its place as the leading source country of legal immigrants but Canada and many of the traditional Western European countries have been replaced in order or category as leading sources by countries of the Caribbean, Latin America and Asia. Additionally, the New Immigration is comprised of large numbers of nonimmigrants, refugees, and so-called "illegal" immigrants or "undocumented" workers. Many of these latter come from countries that now rank high in the legal category or from others with special, usually dependent, relations with the United States.

Finally, but rather pertinent is the distinctive female majority which characterizes the New Immigration. This characteristic plus the legal, ethnic and cultural concomitants of the New Immigration bode serious implications for the United States as a society both on the level of political-diplomatic issues and of sociocultural phenomena. Coupled with the American preoccupation with overpopulation, urban and environmental problems, and economic, racial and international crises such characteristics help to convert the New Immigration into a persistent though usually subordinated political issue of the times.

I

In the very early seventies, when I published my first articles on the subject of the New Immigration,¹ it could be said that one of the main characteristics was its Ellisonian-like *invisibility*: that is to say, though physically quite discernible blacks were ostracized, ignored, and not understood or appreciated as living, legitimate parts of the American society. Aside from the remotely located immigration statistics, articles, personal impressions, and private commentaries of very acute social observers or engaged institutional heads, the growing presence and challenging properties of new immigrants were unrecognized, overlooked and even disregarded by the American public, its media and academia,

its policymakers and service professionals. A paradox seems to emerge when we consider that the blatant objective differences which distinguished new immigrants from main stock Americans or traditional immigrants are much the same objective distinctions which the new immigrants hold in close resemblance with the traditional visible minority groups of the United States. As such, therefore, the new immigrants suffered similar experiences and parallel forms of invisibility as those which Ralph Ellison, in his famous novel, *The Invisible Man*, portrayed so vividly to have been operating against American blacks, in particular. Moreover, they experience (sometimes beneficially, other times disadvantageously) added levels of invisibility as small or subethnic segments within the larger ethnic minorities which are found and formulated in the United States.

Related to this discussion of invisibility, it seems, would be the New Immigration's heavy female composition. Undoubtedly, many of these female immigrants enter into traditional occupational roles reserved for women, especially for nonwhite lower or working class women: custodians, domestics, factory hands, operatives, sales personnel, secretaries and paraprofessionals in the public service agencies and the like. A large number of them are unemployed dependents; some may have been students; and a few others are on welfare. These women tend to settle in neighborhoods already heavily inhabited by

their earlier arrived or American-born ethnic peers and openly interacted in not easily detected ways with them. Moreover, in large measure, new immigrant women, like their men, tend not to be politically vocal or active. Ironically, even though they have been constituting the majority of new immigrants for at least the last three decades, immigrant women contribute to their own invisibility and that of the larger movement. This is so because of residential and political isolation, employment tracking, phenotype, culture as well as the general American mind-set about females, particularly minority female roles in the economy.

The heavy presence of women in the New Immigration while distinguishing it from its predecessors may have contributed indirectly to their invisibility and that of immigration as an ongoing sociocultural phenomenon. For neither were these women put into roles or assigned jobs that would have broken the stereotypical image and therefore the popular perceptions the majority holds about minority women in general. In fact, in many cases the public roles they occupied merely complemented or succeeded other minority or immigrant women who previously held these or similar positions, thus reinforcing the majority view. In other cases, if they were indeed illegal or acting illegally, new immigrant women would purposefully try to manage their visibility by remaining within the scope of expected behavior for native-born or alien resident minorities. Sometimes, though not so generally,

they may even begin to emulate immediately these behaviors as part of negotiating or assimilating American behavior and patterns.

All this is not to deny differences in attitudes, culture or even accomplishment among native and foreign-born minority women but such differences were not usually of immediate saliency to the general public. Such differences were often the private information of insiders, local competitors, employers and research or service professionals with rather esoteric interests on the subject.

Today it is possible to speak of the New Immigration as visible. (This is less likely to be true of the new immigrants, however, since many native-born Americans are often mistaken for immigrants when raids and persecutions are being executed against illegals.) Much of the visibility of the New Immigration itself, however, relates to the immigration as an *issue* and less to it as a *phenomenon*. Thus, for example, we know very little about the majority of new immigrants because we know very little about new female immigrants. Little, if any, do we know of the impact or implications of their presence on this country, those which they have left behind, their kin here or abroad, immigration itself as process or as linkage in increasing more complex transnational networks. Too little do we know about these female immigrants themselves as future citizens or the mothers of future citizens of the United States. Rather we simply fear that they are mostly illegal when we encounter and come

to recognize them as immigrants. We fear that they have or will have large families which will contribute to overpopulating the country and overcrowding the cities; that they or their spouses are occupying jobs which depress labor standards or salaries and put United States workers or minorities out of jobs; that they and their children will exhaust rather than contribute to the maintenance of tax-based public services or welfare systems.

The facts, as we shall learn in this volume, do not substantiate such fears, however. Instead our contributors will show us repeatedly that among these female immigrants there are achievements, abilities and attitudes that are quite admirable by American standards; they are inclined, and even more so their children, to assimilate though selectively many important and useful aspects of the American way of life. Too few of us try to understand *why* and *how* these women are in our midst today; who are those who come and what does their coming mean for those left behind or brought with them; what real changes or contributions (not only problems) do they promise the American society and its future -- locally, nationally and internationally? Without knowing these answers and therefore something about New Immigration as a *phenomenon* we are unlikely to be able to appreciate fully or act wisely upon it as an *issue*.

The presence of women immigrating to the United States is not new to American history. Women have been

migrating to and within the United States from the earliest of recorded movements. Clearly they were among the Amerindians who supposedly came from Asia via the Aleutian Strait and then moved southward to and through the United States. Women formed important components and are among celebrated characters of the early colonists, slaves, immigrants and refugees. But, in some of the earlier frontier-building movements their presence was so minimal or the ratios so lopsided that serious impacts were felt in the family structures of such transported peoples as the early African slaves and the later Asian imported workers.

With respect to contemporary immigration the total number of legal immigrants admitted from 1966 through 1978 add up to 4,409,802 persons, with 2,891,925 of them being female, that produced a crude male-female ratio of two to three. (This pattern seems to have preceded the 1965 dateline even though different source countries were involved. (The thirteen year period [1952-1965] before the new legislation shows 1,578,122 males and 1,916,432 females admitted, also a ratio of 2 to 3.)² A further breakdown of female immigrant population of 1966-1978 shows 53 percent of them being married, 42 percent single, 3.73 percent widowed, 1.3 percent divorced and less than 1 percent of unknown marital status.³ Drawing on the 1970 census data which put the present foreign-born population of the United States at 4.7 percent of the total population, the highest percentage of

native-born females were between 10 and 14 years old but the highest percentage of foreign-born females were 75 and older. The native population shows the significantly greater concentration of both men and women in almost equal proportion to be 24 years of age or younger; the greater concentration of foreign population is certainly above that age mark, with greater proportions of women to men as the age group increases.⁴

It should not be surprising if significant changes take place in the configuration of foreign-born females in the 1980 census (which was not available at the time of the completing of this essay.) They would be due to the increase in volume of newly arrived immigrants among them and the low and apparently still diminishing age of the women now entering the country as legal immigrants. Of a total of 1,029,391 female immigrants in the years between 1966 and 1978 the median age was averaged to be 23.9 years.⁵ Note should be taken here that 47 percent of the women who immigrated between 1967 and 1976 were 20 to 39 years old, age categories which show depression in the native population but a relatively pronounced bulge in the foreign female population.⁶ INS data for 1970 show that the lowest percentage of women entrants for the same period were found to be 70 years old and over,⁷ a marked divergence from the national configuration of the foreign-born female population in 1970 but which conforms more to the profile for native-born women as mentioned above (see

figure 1). Ages 20 through 39 are rather productive years; it is therefore very likely that foreign-born and immigrant women of this age group could contribute significantly to the increase in the 0 through 9 age groups by way of the children they may have borne or brought into the country. At the same time they will have affected the figures on female education and employment too, in less predictable ways.

Combined, the high level of married, widowed and divorced persons among these female immigrants perhaps support observations made by survey and ethnographic students that so many immigrant women are the first members of their respective families or households to enter the United States or the first, perhaps, only legally employed member of their respective reconstituted household units. For some, perhaps less so the divorcees and widows, this may be the first time that they are serving as primary brokers between their households or families and the public institutions.

Of course, care must be taken not to overspeculate here since there is still a rather limited data base or breakdown of sex data relative to the various types of ongoing immigrations. There are also the unknown selective factors involved in *who* decides to emigrate and *when*. The more general immigration studies have suggested that immigrants often are comprised of a sizable number of persons who may have had outside or urban work exposure

before emigrating. Moreover, some fraction of the women coming in are professionals, public workers or even business personnel who must have been exposed to public negotiations, as is likely true for widows and divorcees as well. It is also not known to what degree immigrant women mask their actual statuses, skills and job experience in order to circumvent immigration and consular requirements. Nonetheless, the growing saliency of women in the immigrant and foreign-born population suggest the need for studies which go far beyond immigration itself -- extending to its relation the broader questions of equality culture, identity, socialization, mobility, stratification, social structure, development, change and international order -- and, thus, maximizing its visibility as a *phenomenon*.

II

In keeping with its stated objectives and the record of its publications the Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies has been pursuing a purposeful course in the stimulation, facilitation and dissemination of timely research and deliberations on critical aspects of the New Immigration which merit fresh or immediate attention by the scholarly community. The topic of female immigrants as a special subgroup has not been ignored in the regular activities of the Institute. In some cases the topic may have been subsumed or integrated

within some larger theme but on other occasions it has been treated with singular prominence and centrality.

The papers which comprise this collection in large measure were generated from a seminar organized by RIIES at the 1978 national convention of the International Studies Association in Washington, D.C. (Another principal source being, as will be noted, the seminar at the joint African Studies Association-Latin American Studies Association in Houston, Texas, in 1977, organized by two colleagues, quite closely associated with RIIES, anthropologist Dr. Constance Sutton of NYCC and political scientist Dr. Elsa Chaney then of AID.) With respect to the RIIES Seminar, it was the first of its kind in the country as the Institute continued to promote new direction and topics for the study about new immigrants. In this case the Institute marshalled a cross section of largely female scholars, policymakers, publicists and creative writers who by virtue of their ongoing or past activities would have been interested in exploring the yet untold intricacies and implications of the migratory experience of black women. One objective of the RIIES seminar was to promote studies of black women which went beyond present efforts to champion their images as stabilizing, sedentary figures. Too often, this takes place at the expense of denying them recognition also for the important roles they played and challenging experiences they underwent throughout the various periods of internal and international migrations that mark black history.

The second objective was to sharpen the awareness of the participants to the predominance of nonwhites and women in the present immigration. It seemed timely to initiate discussions about the complexity of placing such realities within the context of the larger processes of campaigns and changes in the areas of equal rights for *native-born* women and minorities, which the society has been undergoing since the mid-fifties.

RIIES has a good record, we think, of prior involvement and encouragement of works on and by female immigrants. Most notable among these has been its association with Dr. Lucy Cohen of Catholic University, anthropologist and social worker, whose activities while a fellow at the Institute included detailing and explaining the experiences of Latin American female immigrants residing in the Washington, D.C. area. De'ores Mortimer's chapter in the RIIES publication *Caribbean Immigration to the United States* was based on a sample dominated primarily by professional female immigrants or daughters of the same, again residing in the Washington, D.C. area. These are perhaps the only such academic statements on immigrant non-European women in the nation's capital. And, several of the female contributors to our publication series and conferences, even when they did not directly address the subject of female immigration, were themselves immigrants or offspring of the same. All of these efforts by RIIES of course comply with a rather extended

view of "equal opportunities requirements." The real point behind them, however, derives from the deep conviction of RIIES' leadership that many of the questions being raised about the New Immigration by their very nature cannot be fully attended to without allowing for a fuller dialogue between insiders and outsiders, in this case between female immigrants and their nonimmigrant/nonfemale peers.

New immigrants may be classified as among the elements of this society which are least capable of explaining or defending themselves in the political or even public arena. This is particularly so in the case of illegals but it affects most new immigrants for various other behavioral, institutional and cultural reasons. Immigrants are extremely susceptible to the interventions of others who by way of expertise, familiarity, power or for ulterior motivations may seek to utilize the immigrant presence as a point of public dialogue. There have been a wide range of complex positions, not all of them clearly pro or con, which the interventionists (advocates as well as antagonists) have taken with respect to the presence, treatment and future of immigration and immigrants in this country. The variances and complexities in positions are not limited to ethnic majority groups or middle and upper classes. It is yet unclear whether there has developed a dialogue or clear directions within the rather active feminist movement. However, individual women have

spoken on both sides of the *issues* of new immigration in general. It is to be hoped that as the *issue* of new female immigration increases in publicity more women will become involved in studying carefully how to act in relation to the *phenomenon* itself.

III

The papers in this collection, limited as they may be in size and scope, represent a meaningful multidisciplinary selection of scholars; mostly social scientists and mostly women (Baca, Bryan and Bryce-Laporte excepted). The contributors include immigrants from the Caribbean or Spanish America, offspring of such immigrants and "outsiders", meaning persons who do not qualify under either of the two previously specified categories, even if in more general terms they may be otherwise identified. With respect to disciplines, data and methods the papers run the range of orientations from abstract, quantitative to ethnographic, life-histories or case studies in the main. Most of them involved some combination of style and approach.

Co-editor Delores Mortimer opens with brief comments on what may be viewed as the two basic underlying preoccupations in all of the papers -- racism and sexism. Traditionally racism has been one of the principal cornerstones of American immigration policies. Even though the Act of 1965 purported to redress racial and regional

inequality, the new immigrants upon arriving in the United States find themselves caught in the midst of racial strifes and not always so subtly disguised forms of ethnocentrism. New immigrants find their identities, purposes and problems denied validity by both majority and minorities in the United States; the country finds that the new immigrants, the ethnic linkages and cultural continuities they represent add to the further blurring of the boundaries and borders between the United States and its dependent or colonial states in the Third World.

The historical roots of sexism are neither abstract nor isolated. Within the context of international migration sexism is manifested particularly in the roles, opportunities and experiences of new nonwhite immigrants. The women of the group face special difficulties having to do with the necessity on their part to stretch or even discontinue their traditional domestic roles in order to accommodate to exigencies of a new setting and to make the best of their now ruptured social networks or replacing support systems. While their old values are being tested, the norms for appropriate familial and marital roles of women in their new host society are in a state of flux. Other difficulties have to do with adjustments or changes that these women must undergo as they assume unaccustomed public roles of leadership, brokership and work in a very competitive

and industrial society, one which still is, despite its progress and freedom, contaminated at the same time with sexual prejudice and racial discrimination. Many of the discriminations and dilemmas experienced by these women are detailed in the papers of this collection.

The fact that the overwhelming proportion of the papers in this volume are of social scientific as compared to humanistic orientation is a reflection of the present state of the field. Until rather recently, the general phenomenon of Caribbean immigration and the experience of the female component within that movement were not favorite topics for intellectual or artistic efforts. This assertion can be applied with confidence across the disciplines but especially with respect to the social sciences and history. It holds with greatest certainty for the best known scholarly or popular works on American immigration, ethnicity and labor.

For quite some years only Paule Marshall's *Brown Girl*, *Brownstones* and Elena Padilla's *Coming Up from Puerto Rico* existed as monographs focusing on the experiences of female immigrants from the Caribbean region and female offspring of Caribbean immigrants to the United States. More recent additions to the list include the autobiographical works of Shirley Chisholm and Rosa Guy and selected poems of June Jordan. There are, as well, collections of varying

sizes and significance by and about Puerto Rican, Caribbean and Hispanic-American women. But as is true of the latter, up to the present time it is these introspective and reflective works of women of Caribbean birth or ancestry which have constituted the main corpus of the literature. They are supplemented by other scattered works of varying utility, accuracy or visibility by serious Caribbean-oriented social scientists, journalists and literary critics.

In the last decade there has been also a rise in saliency of female immigrants and their affairs as public issues. It relates directly to the increasing politization of female and immigrant issues in the United States. This newly acquired saliency has resulted in, and has been reinforced by, noticeable efforts on the part of public and private funding agencies to support or steer new social scientific training, research and dissemination in the direction of these issues. Also promising to augment the literature are (1) the growing number of women of Caribbean birth, ancestry and residence now involved as graduate students, scholars and specialists in the study of these phenomena and (2) the increasing collaboration between United States based and Caribbean based experts and policy-makers. It means, therefore, that there may be a marked rebalancing of the literature in the growing favor of social scientific and policy-oriented works over the humanities.

A social scientist and area specialist myself, I am concerned that the study of new immigration as a

phenomenon benefits not only from insider-outsider dialogues but also from a wide multidisciplinary attention, preoccupations which underlie most of the publications and projects of the Institute. For these reasons as well as others more intrinsic to the author and her work, I will draw special attention at this point to the essay by Paule Marshall which is included in this collection. It corroborates and complements much of what follows in the social science contributions: it highlights characters, culture and conditions which social scientists will proceed to codify and analyze. A baseline therefore for her fellow contributors, her piece provides background in both the historical and ideographic sense for the reader.

The immigration of which Ms. Marshall writes is not the new, present one but an earlier movement of Caribbean peoples which occurred almost simultaneously with the migration of Southern blacks to the North, Puerto Ricans to the United States East Coast, and Mexican *braceros* to the West and Midwest. All of them came to the farms and factories of this country to work. This reminds us that Caribbean immigration to the United States has been a migration of laborers, primarily; a migration of induced and recruited *labor* in which women -- whether spouses, mothers, daughters, relatives, friends or neighbors -- came as *workers*. They came not for adventure but to perform labor; not for leisure but to gain employment. Caribbean immigration to this country is old,

continual and always included *working women* -- as slaves; as house servants, seamstresses and factory workers; and as secretaries, saleswomen, nurses and other professionals.

In large part Ms. Marshall's essay is a commentary about the character and condition of the women in that earlier migration, of the ambiguities these women faced and the ambivalences with which they approached American society in turn. These women displayed strengths and stamina, underwent sacrifices, employed skills, took risks and had sentiments of self-worth, "superiority" and purposefulness that they tried to impart to their offspring. Racism and sexism notwithstanding, theirs was an aggressive but often benign personification of the Protestant ethic they brought with them as British subjects to the "urban" frontier, the land of opportunity. Acquisition of money and property, decent home, success, "class" (really meaning manners, style of life, association and status) and good education -- all these they were convinced could be gotten by the sheer dint of hard, honest work, frugal living, ambition, determination and faith. Such is the collective portrait of those people who have parented scores of black leaders of Caribbean ancestry now active and eminent in this society; some cases par excellence being: Shirley Chisholm, Congresswoman; Barbara Watson, former Assistant Secretary of State; Cicely Tyson, movie actress; Maureen Bunyan, national television news commentator; Martina Arroyo,

opera singer; and Constance Motley, federal judge. There are others, among them are men also, who have not been mentioned here but who can be found in almost every segment of American life.

Marshall's portrayal of her subjects may have the added function of serving as background against which to pursue further the inquiries or comparisons implicit in the works of social scientists, as is seen in this collection. As a group the social scientific essays suggest that Caribbean immigration has developed dimensions of variety and dynamics not only as consequences of the expansion and reordering of source countries but by way of generations of descendants, new waves of immigres from traditional regional sources, and subethnic or class distinctions within these waves. On one level, a hypothetical question of mine can be recast to ask what would have been the fate of these women, given the relative similarity of culture, language and ethic that they shared with the American majority, had they been white and/or males. On another level, we may want to ponder on the discontinuities and differences if any that these older immigrants brought and encountered compared to their present day successors and descendants. Patterns found in answering such questions and explaining consequences are scientific desires which complement and characterize portrayals. The patterns provided by social scientists of socio-economic and cultural persistence, change, successes, defeats, conflicts, contributions, and

achievements of each particular group of women would shed light on a different level and context of experience. They would also allow comparisons with other waves of immigrants, groups of "ethnics," and generations of native-born offspring of foreign-born women, not covered in this volume.

There has been another stream of Caribbean immigrants -- men and *women* -- who were recruited to provide labor, to do *hard work*, in the construction and maintenance of American overseas projects. These West Indian workers went to Panama, the Hispanic Caribbean, and Central or South America. As a child of that set of immigrants and as an editor of this collection, I am prodded into a mood of comparison and a state of reminiscence about the *working* woman of that migration:

She was a woman of worth
 She was a woman of pride
 Her children came first.
 Sunday meant church
 Clean dresses, neat dresses
 Neat and starched as was her pride.

Life wasn't a rose garden
 Ironing and cleaning meant a hard life
 She shed tears; her heart pained
 But on she went at a steady pace
 Using her coins to put her children through.
 That was important.

Her husband when she had one
 ... he was ALL RIGHT.

But she, she only had her children
 That was her pride, her joy, her fortune.
 She would put them through regardless
 To be persons of worth
 Who would finish high school.
 You see? She was a person of worth

Excerpted from *About Our Women*, an aptly entitled poem by my Panamanian colleague Juanita Mitil, these verses capture details which apply quite particularly to the popular image of West Indian mothers in Panama. Additionally, they suggest great parallelism with verses in *Getting Down to Get Over*, written by black American poet June Jordan as a dedication to her Caribbean-born mother. Perhaps there is no accident or mystery here since so much is shared in common among working women, even writing women, in a hemisphere whose development, history and interrelation seem to be sustained by intermittent labor-providing human migrations.

Part I of this collection is really comprised of two subdivisions. In addition to Marshall's the first set of papers focuses on women from countries of predominantly Afro-Caribbean and African identities; the second set is on women from the Hispanic Caribbean and Latin America. Each chapter stands on its own but the sequence of presentation is intended to provide the reader with a very meaningful flow of information and a wide dramatic variety of experiences and stages in the immigration process as they apply to these two groups of women.

Monica Gordon's contribution is not so much historical as contemporary, nor is it so much humanistic as it is contextual. Stressing the socioeconomic conditions, motives and experiences of Caribbean women via

sociology, it represents a complementary perspective to Marshall's for reading the other entries which make up the first set of papers. The works of Bolles, Burgess and James-Gray and Buchanan are of conventional anthropological orientation. The first of these shares with us intimate thoughts and views of female aspirants for immigration to the United States from a Caribbean nation. The latter two shed light on the experiences and feelings of different subethnic groups of Caribbean women who already have settled in New York City. Bolles, Burgess and James-Gray use principally an ethnographic expository style, the latter two adding a comparative dimension to their work. Buchanan employs a composite biographical profile to inform us about the subjects of her study.

Audrey Johnson's comparative note on African, Afro-Caribbean and Afro-American women in the United States represents a significant shift. It focuses on professional women as an explicit subset; additionally it sensitizes us not only to subethnic variety among black women but the reason why such variety must be considered if we are not to fall prey to oversimplifications resulting from imposed monolithic ethnic categories which collapse groups and camouflage subjective as well as objective differences among them. Within that context Dorothy Bryan shares with us findings and implications from one of the few studies done on African

women in the United States. Dealing very generally with sojourning Nigerian women (as spouses/parents/children), it reminds us of the distinction in number and characteristics of contemporary African immigrants to the United States compared to other new immigrant groups; it reemphasizes one more significant feature of black immigrant compared to black native status in contemporary United States -- namely, the choice of returning "home".

The contributions which follow by Donna Grey, Barbara Christian and Eugenia Franklyn-Springer are brief and different to those which preceded them. The personal voice employed in their presentations bring more forcefully to our attention the dilemmas and memories which are harbored quite deeply by so many "successful" black immigrants. Crises of identity, nostalgia, questions of usefulness, belonging, meaningfulness and worth -- comprise what I have called elsewhere the "psychological underside" of the brain drain. Compounded in very specific ways, by considerations of status, class and sex; these sentiments are often masked by images of "success" and acts of creativity, pride, drive and leadership -- really reaches for solutions.

The opening article in the second subdivision of papers, "Latinas Lead the Way" by Lucy Cohen, is a statement on Latin American women in specific; it is not one on Latin American Women versus their peers of

another subregion or subculture. By applying anthropology to the study of social problems Cohen acquaints us with some of the grim aspects of homelife, health and stress of female immigrants from Latin America, whose situations become grimmer yet by the failure of the larger society to respond positively to the challenges posed by these newest additions to the nation's capital city. Cohen corrects our tendency to stereotype immigrant women as passively or helplessly following their menfolk around. She also raises some questions about some areas of problems and pains in which these Latin women may be the leading victims as well as areas of change in which they may be the most forward of pace setters.

The remaining papers by Sassen-Koob, Safa, Rios, Baca and Bryan, and Casals bring us back to a point made earlier about the overriding place of work/labor in characterizing immigration to the United States particularly from Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America. These papers concentrate on female labor, of course. The paper by Saskia Sassen-Koob is crucial here because it presents a political economy perspective on the internationalization of capital and labor, the consequences this process has had on women as part of labor migration from current source countries of the periphery to the core, as well as the utilization of female labor in production plants installed in these very countries

by or with investment capital from the core countries, and the manner in which the inverse migration of labor and capital relate specifically to women in the Caribbean and Latin America as well as those who resettle in New York City. To this Helen Safa contributes a comparative breakdown and more detailed empirical treatment of the differences in job opportunities, situations and outlooks among Hispanic working women in New York City -- still the leading entrepot for newcomers into the country.⁸ These she relates to implications for policy-making having to do with female labor within such contexts as generational structure, immigrants versus citizens competition, international and intranational division of labor.

Puerto Ricans, like Virgin Islanders, too often escape our attention in the study of the new immigrants. In a sense the newness, which Oscar Handlin gave to them has become, too quickly, old and commonplace. Moreso the ambiguity of their country's status extends to their personal statuses as well: United States citizens or Latin American immigrants? Aside from its concentration on the impact of the WIN program on Puerto Rican women, the Rios paper is crucial for its reemphasizing of the insidious kinds of advantages -- welfare rather than stoop labor -- Puerto Ricans, Blacks, Chicanos and poorer citizens hold over or compete for with immigrants of more recent residence. On the

other extreme of nebulousness in the continuum of immigrant statuses are the "illegals" or "undocumented" whose invisibility presents a very special set of challenges to both enforcement authorities and research scholars. Baca and Bryan provide us one of the few cases where "illegals" are studied outside of detention situations. More appropriately, they give us interesting comparisons between men and women comprising this intriguing sector of the new Latino population of the United States.

The Casals-Prieto paper concentrates on Cubans but puts the case of black Cubans on relief as a subethnic group as of now still understudied. Even when this work does not focus specifically on black or nonblack female Cuban immigrants as a central theme of concern, the comparisons made about sex and color reveal rather interesting information about black Cuban women in these settings; namely, the United States, Miami and prerevolutionary Cuba.

Unfortunately Lourdes Casals died before this work was published. Part I ends with an obituary to her as colleague in study, comrade in struggle. Ironical but apt, our statement is about a once-active scholar now silent voice of an insider on the subjects of labor, sex, race, class and culture among Hispanic Caribbean immigrants to the United States; a once immigrant finally repatriated Cuban exile woman; a once living now dead immigrant.

Close reading will show that there are significant as well as subtle differences among these immigrant groups as well as the treatment they receive by the respective authors. It will also become rather evident that there are many overarching similarities in the findings and explanations about these women -- some no doubt extending to earlier periods, other immigrants and other women. Indeed, many of the differences that are detectable in the conclusions will seem to be less due to methodology, the sex of the author/s or even personal status among the migrant-nonmigrant continuum. Rather they reflect the variation in scope of problem, place or population that was selected for study -- and of course differences in levels of perspective and style. On the substantive level not so much contradiction but reinforcement and complementation can be observed.

The reader must exercise special caution, however, with respect to the article on Haitian and Cuban women. Both of these islands have been experiencing a new exodus of refugees markedly different in class, color and perhaps sex proportions from their earliest predecessors -- testifying then to the ever-changing challenges social scientists face when they seek to deal with ongoing, dynamic phenomena as issues or vice versa. Bearing in mind, however, that many of the entries were working papers or research notes at the point of submission, the collection affords the reader the opportunity to participate

critically and constructively in the refinement or elaboration of the many primitive observations and embryonic thoughts being made about the New Immigration. With respect to the study of the women who now form the majority of that immigration, reference is made here to the "Afterword" where our colleague Elsa Chaney provides a challenging incipient agenda for action and research.

Part II is introduced by co-editor Delores Mortimer. It comprises a sizable, but selected, bibliography on non-European female immigrants and related topics.

NOTES

¹Roy S. Bryce-Laporte, "Black Immigrants," in *Through Different Eyes*, eds. P. Rose, S. Rothman, and W. Wilson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 44-61. See also "Black Immigrants: The Experience of Invisibility and Inequality," *Journal of Black Studies* 3:1 (September 1972): 29-56.

²United States Department of Justice, *Immigration and Naturalisation Annual Reports* (Washington D.C.: United States Printing Office, 1952-1965).

³United States Department of Justice, Labor and State, *Immigration and Naturalisation Annual Reports, 1967-1976* quoted in *Interagency Task Force on Immigration Policy Staff Report*, March 1979.

⁴Op. cit.

⁵United States Department of Justice, *Immigration and Naturalisation Annual Reports* (Washington D.C.: United States Printing Office, 1956-1978).

⁶United States Department of Justice, Labor and State, *Immigration and Naturalisation Annual Reports, 1967-1976* quoted in *Interagency Task Force on Immigration Policy Staff Report*, March 1979.

⁷Op. cit.

- ⁸Roy Bryce-Laporte, "New York City and the New Caribbean Immigration: A Contextual Statement," *International Migration Review* 13 (Special Issue, Summer 1979): 214-234.

RACE, ETHNICITY, AND SEX IN THE RECENT IMMIGRATION:
SOME PRELIMINARY COMMENTS

Delores M. Mortimer

INTRODUCTION

Like the rest of the "New World", this nation is believed to have been peopled from its very beginning by immigrants; that is, persons native to other continents and countries. Since then, immigration has comprised a constant in the peopling of the United States of America, even before its conversion into an independent and sovereign nation or its transformation into a major power in the economic and political world order. The continuous recording of immigration to the United States began in 1819 and the first inclusive immigration law was passed in 1882. For most of this country's history immigration policies were based largely on the belief in the unassimilability of the non-European races, thus, for a time, making the United States one of the few nations that analyzed its international migration on the basis of race.¹ In recent times new complications related to ethnicity and the social category of sex have become important issues in characterization and analysis of American immigration.

A 1927 study of data for parentage concerning American immigration, based on 1920 census figures, showed

¹The author acknowledges the special assistance of R.S. Bryce-Laporte and technical support of Constance Trombley in the completion of this paper and accepts sole responsibility for its contents and style. Its contents do not represent policies of the Smithsonian Institution.

that Canadians and Mexicans were among the two largest immigrant groups, and that they numerically dominated "the foreign element, if not the entire population, at the points of heaviest settlement."² While the tone of the study shows some concern over the composition of the Canadian and Mexican immigrant contingents,³ the author points to one factor which, in his opinion, mitigated the disturbing influence of immigration upon the ethnic composition of the United States. This is the fact that a large proportion of the foreign-born came from the same countries as many of the early settlers.⁴ By this Carpenter means the English, Scotch, Welsh, and some Irish; stocks which persisted "with remarkable strength right down to the present... [and] remaining sufficiently heavy to constitute a significant and steady reinforcement to the country's original ethnic stock."⁵ Carpenter also notes that if foreigners arriving for the past century has been essentially similar to "the original American type" the immigrant problem would not be considered as complex as it is. Cited among the most obvious differences between the foreign and native populations is the element of ethnic origin. While the study took no account of the various Asian groups, it "revealed the existence of a not inconsiderable number of colored peoples among the current immigration to this country. Negro immigration has been seen to be on the increase. Moreover, there is very heavy infusion of Indian blood in the Mexican element that has assumed such large proportions in recent years."⁶

In 1921 a quota act was passed known as the Three Percent Restriction Law. That law provided that the "number of any aliens who may be admitted under the immigration laws to the United States in any fiscal year shall be limited to three percent of the number of foreign-born persons of such nationality resident in the United States, census of 1910."⁷ In rallying support for the law, Maurice R. Davie argued:

There is need at the present time of excluding other dark skinned races, a need which will undoubtedly increase unless some action is taken. From 1899 to 1922 there were admitted to this country over 115,000 African blacks, and during the same period more than 25,000 West Indians other than Cubans. One would think that our Negro problem was already large enough without adding to it that way. The recently enacted 3 percent restriction law, to be sure, applies to Africa and allows a yearly quota of only 122, so that now there is less danger from that source. But it would seem since we have applied the principle of exclusion to such people as the Chinese and Japanese that we should go the whole way and exclude the black immigrant aliens. The barred zone should be extended to Jamaica and the Bahamas to stop the coming of blacks from those quarters.⁸

Historically, then, there has been a systematic effort over the years to control the national and ethnic composition of immigration streams to the United States by promulgation of restrictive policies, laws and judicial decisions which excluded or curtailed entry of specified races.

Breaking with this tradition, the Immigration Act of 1965 attempted to rectify the biases inherent in the National Origins Quota System and its predecessors.⁹ Until 1965, U.S. immigration laws contained a number of discriminatory provisions favoring immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, discouraging immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, and excluding all but a very small number of persons of Asian origin. Data on the origins of U.S. immigrants from 1820-1975 show that 76 percent were European, 18 percent came from areas close to the United States, and 5 percent from Asia.¹⁰ The Act aimed at achieving equity by replacing national quotas with hemispheric ceilings and by instituting a new list of preferences aimed at family reunification and reflective of occupational demands in the United States. Notably, for the post-Act period of 1965 through 1975, there was a decline in the immigration from Europe (35 percent) and an increase (600 percent) in Asian immigration to the United States.¹¹

The elements of ethnicity and sex are manifested in several ways among the characteristics which distinguish the New Immigration. First, the newcomers enter into a society in which blacks and Latins now make up the largest and most embattled domestic minorities in the present period of intense political problems in the United States. Second, of the large number of immigrants now entering the United States, many are phenotypically black or mixed with black and themselves perhaps share

consciously (or unconsciously) culture and identity from a common African past with North American blacks. Third, it is projected that by the end of the century Hispanics will have outnumbered blacks and thus replaced them as the largest single minority in the country.¹² Many of these new immigrants and their offspring will belong to one or both of the two largest minorities. Finally, females comprise the numerical majority in the New Immigration, adding to the already established female majority in the United States population.¹³

RACE, ETHNICITY AND MIGRATION

Sociologist E. K. Francis views racial groups as ethnic groups which are defined on the basis of marked contrasts in somatic appearance.¹⁴ This point is very salient, even to the discussion of relations between visible, native minorities in the United States. As is true of African-Americans (meaning blacks of United States birth but African ancestry) race becomes an exceedingly important factor in the social adjustment process of those immigrants whose biological properties, cultural heritage, and perhaps identity contain African elements whether they are English-speaking or not.¹⁵ How these immigrants define themselves racially perhaps is less crucial than how they are defined by others. The treatment they receive in the United States will depend upon (a) whether they are perceived and categorized as blacks

by the white American majority whose attitudes and politics are quite decisive for social policy and (b) the degree to which African-Americans decide to recruit or reject these immigrants as an allied group who share with them common identity, problems, and realities.

Generally, the term American people or population implies a conglomerate of racial groups. Similarly, the term white or white American implies a number of constituent subethnic hyphenates and subsocieties.¹⁶ On the contrary, race and ethnicity tend to be fused when referring to blacks at least but not necessarily solely from a majority or establishment point of view. Thus, the various subethnic identifications and subcultural differences among them tend to be overlooked or suppressed in the case of blacks (and other visible minority groups) in favor of phenotypical characteristics and original ancestry which they apparently share as a racial group. One result of this social perception is evident in census categories that were used until about 1955 wherein a term such as "African, black" was employed to describe immigrants who were often neither African-born nor black in a strict phenotypical sense but were instead "a polyglot collection of racial mixtures and cultural adaptations."¹⁷ The 1980 census forms have adopted a much extended and more refined set of ethnic subcategories for blacks and other visible ethnic groupings. Pending reports from this latest census innovation, however, it is likely that the cogent observations of Austin will

continue to hold true: namely, that most national policies and programs for blacks fail to take into account important variations in life styles and cultural patterns between or among foreign-born and domestic blacks.¹⁸

On another level, in looking at Puerto Ricans or Haitians, both white and black Americans impose ethnic categories as an identification badge. Membership is ascribed and individuals are duly categorized irrespective of how they wish to define their own identities.¹⁹ For example, dark-skinned English-speaking individuals who belong to a Puerto Rican ethnic population are often labeled as black American by white Americans.²⁰ On the other hand, in postulating a philosophy of racial *qua* cultural or ethnic unity for the larger group, black Americans often create tensions by including automatically among their ranks all phenotypical blacks regardless of place of origin. For example, political quarrels sometimes erupt between native-born African-Americans and resident Puerto Ricans or Cape Verdeans following (a) the arbitrary imposition of racial affinity *cum* implications upon these foreigners or (b) the denial by such foreigners of either an affinity with African-Americans or the implications associated with it. Such denials rarely are interpreted as the prideful or pragmatic desire of these immigrants to be known as a Puerto Rican national or a Cape Verdean alien vis-à-vis (or as well as) a North American citizen. Rather, they are often perceived as acts of sacrilegious or treacherous denigration of the

African-American group or the "Black Race" by the individuals who do not want to be so identified or affiliated. Clearly overlooked in this situation are the dynamics and nuances in the meanings of being black and being American which immigrants bring with them or learn in the United States and the complex options which they choose to follow in trying to resolve their perceived dilemmas.²¹

Relatedly, Ira Reid has observed that "conflict situations between the foreign-born Negro groups and the native ones, between two Negro immigrant groups, and between different generations of the same immigrant group make us aware of definite phases of social process."²² Such observations can also lead to questions as to (1) what will be the greater barrier to advancement in America for black immigrants -- color, language, or culture; (2) how will those barriers, over time, affect income, mobility, and other indices of well-being; and (3) on the social and political front, what does the presence of black immigrants bode for the native-born black and vice-versa?²³

On yet another level, the expansiveness of the New Immigration and the general rise in national and ethnic consciousness on the present world scene have contributed to a new dimension of ethnicity. Within the field of immigration studies, ethnicity now refers not only to a mode of subdividing national or racial groups within a given country but also to emerging forms of

transnational linkages caused by the movement of peoples across national and geographic boundaries.

Using the traditional definition, Schermerhorn states:

Each society in the modern world contains sections or subsections more or less distinct from the rest of the population. The most fitting generic term to designate this fraction of the whole is "ethnic group". An ethnic group is defined here as a collectivity within a larger society having a real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical contiguity -- religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features or any combination of these. A necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group.²⁴

Using the more recent internationalist perspective, ethnic groups according to Bell:

Have become part of the major global struggles against political and economic domination. They are involved in supranational networks of communication and influence, such as the Caribbean-African-Black American triangle that carry ideas of ethnic or racial destiny, oppression, struggle, and identity transcending the boundaries of any existing nation-state.²⁵

In several writings Bryce-Laporte has elucidated the further application of this principle as it relates

specifically to Caribbean immigrants and the cultural, political, and economic linkages which they represent both to their source region and the cities and countries of the United States. Among his most recent statements on the subject are the following:

- (1) Compared to some other immigrant groups... West Indians and other Caribbean groups have yet to develop extraordinarily powerful lobbies, seize control of special interests, or establish footholds in particular sections of the political or economic sector of the American society... Nevertheless, they comprise extra-national linkages of peoples and communities located in host and target societies -- a level of linkage not normally the subject of academic or policy preoccupation in the United States.²⁶
- (2) Insofar as the new immigrants, by definition, are the last to come from their country of origin, they represent the continuing linkage between the new communities and the old country... The new immigrants everywhere, but particularly in their cities of concentration such as New York, dramatize the growing necessity for conscious interlinking of local, national, international (and global) policies... More important is the possibility that because of a greater access to finance, institutional space, and technological managerial know-how, it is this urban, Caribbean, overseas community which may eventually be intervening in behalf of and impacting on certain lines of radical restructuring and reorientation of the Caribbean region itself.²⁷

MIGRATION, SEX ROLES, AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Migration involves the successful interrelation of several processes, not just movement itself. All of the processes combined have an influence on the mental and physical well-being of the individual because of the demands placed on coping, adaptive and defensive mechanisms. Included among the processes are rural-urban migration, urbanization, acculturation, and assimilation. And, further, the migrant must survive, in many cases, without benefit of most of her familiar cultural and physical supports.²⁸

[She] must learn the language of the new environment, find employment and shelter, keep [the] family together, establish a friendship network, and deal with the prejudice and hostility of the new community -- the host society.²⁹

Special social, educational, and cultural problems therefore are faced by categories of migrants aside from legal immigrants. This grouping includes refugees, temporary workers, children born abroad or who remain behind while both parents emigrate, children living abroad with relatives, and children who return to the country of emigration. It also includes women -- female immigrants and those left behind because of emigration of their spouses, offspring, relatives and neighbors or colleagues.

The responsibilities of child care have traditionally been assigned to females. And, while mothers have

always been the primary caretakers, grandmothers, aunts, female siblings, and other female kin have also provided child care in the United States and other societies. However, the immigrant female parent entering the United States currently has encountered a situation in which "nuclear and less-than-nuclear families have tended to replace extended family and community support systems."³⁰

The particular difficulties which immigrant children present and experience compound in special ways the responsibilities of the women who regardless of their "civil status" become separated from their spouses, households or families as a result of the migration process. When such women are also part of the migratory stream they must arrange for child care during working hours as well as help the child or children to adjust to a new society. This task of finding suitable education may involve enrolling a child in a formal education program (public or private school) and also providing an informal educational-learning milieu for the child. That is to say, at least two types of learning institutions are necessary: one to teach the language of the host country, the other to maintain contact with the source culture, especially if there are plans to return home eventually.³¹

There are other relationships within the private domain such as spousal relations which can be strained and complicated in the migration process. Fuller understanding of the implications of this process for women must include considerations having to do with new

responsibilities and roles which they must perform in the public domain. Not all of these have to do with family or household situations; many relate to daily work and negotiations outside of the home.

Increasingly in American society, employment serves as an index of mobility, status, and class affiliation; it also can be a key determinant of life style and life chances. Therefore, awareness of employment status and possibilities must be solidly linked to understanding of many aspects of the migration process as it applies to women. Speaking about the English-speaking Caribbean, Jack Harewood points out³² that since the nineteenth century the number of available and willing workers has increased while participation rates have decreased. This is especially true among persons under twenty-five, among women, among certain laborers, and among persons with limited education. Further, statistics gathered by the Jamaican government show that not only are larger numbers of women receiving longer periods of schooling but also that after receiving their education they remain unemployed due to unavailability of positions to match training and/or competency levels.³³ With some modification to include the concepts of underemployment and tokenism, the above observations could be extended to the situation of women in the United States as well.

Employment opportunity has long been an important factor in the internal migration of African-Americans as well as others in this country. Ann Ratner Miller has

suggested³⁴ that, contrary to popular opinion, the migration of African-Americans from the South to the northern industrial centers did not serve as the primary source of labor between 1920 and 1950. During the period 1890-1920 the primary source of labor was supplied by foreign immigrants. For the second period, however, it was the increasing use of female labor that took up the slack created by immigration restrictions. Using comparisons between the 1890-1920 and 1920-1950 labor force increments Miller found that, at the national level, the contributions of both the non-white (males and females) and the foreign-born (whites only) declined over time. The question that follows from this finding is "How, then was the increase in the labor force maintained during the second period at levels roughly approximating those of the first thirty years?" For Ratner, the answer lies in the growth of the white female labor force because of infusions of foreign-born white females.³⁵

As factory work offered working class women options in the 1830s, domestic service and other types of "women's work" continued to lose standing. But black women were barred from almost all factory work in northern cities and therefore turned to domestic service to earn a living. Even in this sphere working class white women -- in this instance female immigrants -- competed with them for these jobs and often won.

Prior to the Civil War, as waves of immigrants landed in New York harbor and displaced even the lowest-

paid blacks and urban slaves among them, abolitionist Frederick Douglass said, "every hour sees the black man elbowed out of employment by some newly arrived immigrant whose hunger and whose color are thought to give him a better title to a place." But, this situation held true for black women as well. They finally, in great numbers, went door-to-door offering work as laundresses, cooks, nursemaids, or domestics at almost any wage the mistress of the home could pay.³⁶ As late as 1930, of 1.3 million African-American women in nonagricultural jobs, over one million (roughly 85 percent) were in domestic and personal service occupations. By contrast less than 25 percent of the more than two million African-American males in non-agricultural jobs were to be found in domestic and personal service occupations.³⁷

Native African-Americans of old stock (as compared to those of foreign birth or recent alien ancestry) have been stigmatized by the historical position which they have been assigned in this country. There exists the stereotype of them as unwilling to embrace as readily as the foreign-born black or white person the abundant opportunities for advancement available through hard work that is part of the American ethos. Within that stereotype, relative exceptions have been made for native black females versus native black males based on superficial attempts to compare employment histories of the two subsets.³⁸ The picture that emerges is one in which the black female has enjoyed an advantage in the urban labor

market relative to the black man and relative to that of working-class white women.³⁹ Alternative examinations of census and other statistics on employment suggests another pattern: "The historical pattern of occupational and earning differences between the sexes reveals a striking similarity between whites and blacks"⁴⁰ rather than the reversal of roles or the "unnatural" superiority of women which so many scholars have allowed themselves to believe.

Like the New Immigration itself, the overwhelmingly female component only now is becoming a target of study. Undoubtedly as women themselves become part of the core of scholars who will study these phenomena, more refined understandings will come forth about both its subjective and objective aspects. Perhaps with women becoming more active in politics and policymaking more adequate decisions and actions regarding the female component of migration should be expected. In particular, there is need for better information on the employment, salary, living standards, socioeconomic mobility and motivational patterns among female immigrant versus non-immigrant women, nonwhite female versus white female immigrants and of nonwhite female versus nonwhite male immigrants.

On a more general level, students of the New Immigration should be encouraged in their studies insofar as they may produce comparative information on subcultural or subethnic variations comprising the nonwhite female immigration to the United States as a subspecialization

in itself. Of equal importance however, are the insights or projections on the implications of the presence of these subpopulations for the future of the immigrants themselves and for the host and the home countries involved. Indeed, as immigrant women are likely to play important roles in both the stratificational and transnational dynamics of ethnicity brought about by the New Immigration, perhaps they may well be crucial in the struggle toward changes and equalization of status and roles between the sexes as well.

NOTES

- ¹Ira De Augustine Reid, *The Negro Immigrant: His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustments, 1889-1937* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 24. For a brief summary on the development of American immigration policy and enactment of the restrictive legislation of the 1920s, see John Higham, "American Immigration Policy in Historical Perspective," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 21 (Spring 1956): 213-235.
- ²Niles Carpenter, *Immigrants and Their Children 1920: A Study Based on Census Statistics Relative to the Foreign Born and the Native White of Foreign or Mixed Parentage* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1927), p. 177.
- ³Carpenter, op. cit., p. 3, states that "the foreign colored are numerically unimportant except in a few States. It is of some interest to state that the total foreign colored, amounting in 1920 to 207,938, was made up of Negroes from Mexico and Central and South America, from Great Britain, Spain and Portugal, and their colonies; Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus, of Asiatic origin; Indians, from Canada and Mexico; and of other small groups such as Koreans, Malays, Siamese, Samoans, and Maoris."
- ⁴No mention is made by Carpenter of the New Mexico Hispanos who lived in the southwestern United States before the arrival of "the original American stock". (The Hispanos

were a pre-existing subsociety of the emergent Mexican society. After Mexican territory had been annexed by the U.S. the Hispanos became the primary ethnic group in that area.) See E. K. Francis, *Interethnic Relations: An Essay in Sociological Theory* (New York: Elsevier, 1976), p. 190.

⁵Carpenter, op. cit., p. 297. Rudolph Vecoli has stated that the European immigration to the United States was the most important of all. For him, the importance lies in the fact that "some thirty-five million Europeans immigrated to the United States in the century after 1830. This fact determined the basic character of American society; it was to be predominantly Caucasian, Christian, and Western." See Vecoli, "European Americans: From Immigrants to Ethnics," in *Reinterpretation of American History and Culture*, eds. William Cartwright and Richard Watson, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1973), p. 81.

⁶Ibid., Carpenter based his statement on a 1925 Department of Labor study which asserted that "Of those who comprise the ninety or more million people living in Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, and South America, only a minor fraction are of the race elements usually regarded as white." See Robert F. Foerster, *The Racial Problems Involved in Immigration from Latin America and the West Indies to the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1925), p. 41.

⁷As quoted in Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁸Maurice R. Davie, *A Constructive Immigration Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), p. 7; see also his *World Immigration* (New York: Macmillan, 1936).

⁹The 1965 Act placed an overall limit of 120,000 immigrants per year on aliens born in the independent countries of the Western Hemisphere (North, Central, and South America; the Canal Zone and the Caribbean). Within this limitation no maximum number of immigrants was established per country. All aliens born in geographical entities still colonies of other countries were subject to a strict numerical limitation of 200 per colony per year. Aside from immediate relatives of U.S. citizens no more than 170,000 immigrant numbers were to be issued to aliens born in the Eastern Hemisphere in any one year and no more than 20,000 from any one independent Eastern Hemisphere country.

HR 12443 amended the Immigration and Nationality Act to establish a united worldwide immigration system. The primary impact of the law was to abolish the separate ceilings for the two hemispheres. Under this law, both ceilings were combined in a 290,000 worldwide limitation for persons subject to numerical restrictions.

¹⁰Verghese J. Chirayath, "Domestic Implications of the New Immigration for the U.S. and Other Host Societies: Occupations and Services," in *Sourcebook on the New*

Immigration: Book II (Supplement), ed. Roy Bryce-Laporte assisted by Delores Mortimer and Stephen Couch, Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), pp. 94-100.

¹¹For the period 1965 to 1975 there was a decline in the immigration from Europe (down 35 percent) and South America (down 26 percent). During that same period there was a marked increase (by as much as 600 percent) in Asian immigration. Ibid. See also Morrison G. Wong and Charles Hirschman, *The New Asian Immigrants*, Center for International Studies of Immigration and Ethnicity, Occasional Papers Series (Durham, N.C.: Duke University, 1979).

¹²"Because the rate of natural increase (births over deaths) among Hispanics is 1.8% higher than that for blacks, and because Hispanic immigration (legal and illegal) is running at the staggering rate of an estimated one million people a year, Hispanics may outnumber American blacks within the next decade." *Time Magazine* 112:16 (October 16, 1978): 48.

¹³According to the Department of Labor, "blacks constitute 90 percent of persons other than white in the United States." See U.S. Department of Labor, "Economic Responsibilities of Working Women" (Washington, D.C.: n.d.) p. 1, note 2.

¹⁴E. K. Francis, *Interethnic Relations: An Essay in Sociological Theory* (New York: Elsevier, 1976), p. 278.

¹⁵The [transplanted Africans] acted, and were reacted to socially, not with reference to any particular parent society but to a generalized and fictitious ethnic unit or "race". (See Francis, *ibid.*, p. 287).

In succeeding generations, race and servile status continued to be closely associated and an ethnic affinity was (and continues to be) assumed for all those who display roughly similar racial features which distinguish and identify. Also, see Ira Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

¹⁶The Department of Labor defines white Americans as a group that "has its origins in the original peoples of Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East." See U.S. Department of Labor, "Economic Responsibilities of Working Women" (Washington, D.C.: GPO, n.d.), p. 1, note 2.

¹⁷Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 24. Reid is referring primarily to people from the Caribbean area. However, immigration from Africa has been recorded since 1820; with only a few exceptions this movement was not classified by country until 1931.

There is record of immigration from Liberia in 1829, 1839, 1844, and for 1857-1893; Algeria, 1872-1894; Egypt, 1869-1895; and South Africa, 1869-1895; Morocco, 1931-present. In 1945 "other Africa was classified into Cameroons (French and British), Ruanda and Urundi, South-

west Africa, Tanganyika, Togoland (British Mandate and French trust territory), and colonies, dependencies, or protectorates of other European countries. Since 1945 Libya, Somaliland, Southern Rhodesia, Eritrea, Ghana, Sudan, and Tunisia were added.

Immigration statistics have been available for the Caribbean since 1820, also. However, for 1820-1860, there was no classification by country. For 1899-1924, there again was no classification by country of immigration from the Caribbean. For detailed data on Caribbean immigration, see *Annual Report of Commissioner General of Immigration* for each year, 1892-1932. See also *The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present* (Stamford, CN: Fairfield Publishers for the U.S. Bureau of the Census and the Social Science Research Council, 1966), pp. 48-51.

- 18B. William Austin, "Domestic Policy Implications as They Relate to Black Ethnic Groups in America," in *Sourcebook on the New Immigration*, ed. Roy Bryce-Laporte (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books), pp. 223-229; Thomas Sowell, "The Other Blacks: I and II," *New York Times*, I (April 12, 1979), A23, II (April 13, 1979), A27; and William J. Wilson, *The Declining Significance of Race* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978) for extensions of these arguments to class considerations.

- 19 Nina Karen Barnett Glick, "The Formation of a Haitian Elite Group." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1972, p. 23.
- 20 Loc. cit. The category of ethnic population pays no attention to the fact that, Puerto Ricans, for example, may be divided or distinguished by class, by race, and by cultural differences.
- 21 For further elaboration see: Roy Bryce-Laporte, "Black Immigrants: The Experience of Invisibility and Inequality," *Journal of Black Studies* 3 (September 1972): 29-56; Pierre-Michel Fontaine, "Haitian Immigrants in Boston: A Commentary," in *Caribbean Immigration to the United States*, eds. Roy Bryce-Laporte and Delores Mortimer, Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies Occasional Paper No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1976) pp. 111-129; Joyce Bennett Justus, "West Indians in Los Angeles: Community and Identity," *ibid.*, pp. 130-148; Roy Bryce-Laporte, "Migration to the United States: Some Implications for Caribbean Governments and their Educators," in *Caribbean-American Perspectives*, (Phelps-Stokes Fund), pp. 67-78; C.R. Sutton and S. Makiesky, "Migration and West Indian Racial and Ethnic Consciousness," in *Migration, Change and Development: Implications for Ethnic Identity and Political Conflict*, eds. H.I. Safa and B. du Toit (Paris and the Hague: Mouton Publisher, 1975), pp. 113-143.

- ²²Reid, op. cit., p. 25.
- ²³For more recent discussions of such conflicts and complexities, see Austin, op. cit.; and Harold Cruse, *Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* (New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1967).
- ²⁴R. A. Schermerhorn, *Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research* (New York.: Random House, 1970), p. 12.
- ²⁵Wendell Bell, "Comparative Research on Ethnicity: A Conference Report," *Southeast Asia Ethnicity and Development Newsletter* (Singapore) 1:3 (September 1977): 29.
- ²⁶Roy S. Bryce-Laporte, "Migration to the United States: Some Implications for Caribbean Governments and Their Educators," in *Proceedings and Papers from the Caribbean-American Exchange Program* (New York: Phelps Stokes Fund, 1974), p. 75.
- ²⁷Ibid., "New York City and the New Caribbean Immigration: A Contextual Statement," *International Migration Review* (Special Issue on Caribbean Migration to New York, eds. Elsa Chaney and Constance Sutton) 13 (Summer 1979): 227.
- ²⁸See Eugene B. Brody, "Psychiatric Implications of Industrialization and Rapid Social Change," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 156:5 (1973): 303. See also J. Kupinsky, F. Schaecter, and J. F. Cole,

Influencing the Incidence of Mental Disorders among Migrants," *Medical Journal of Australia* 52 (1965): pp. 269-277.

²⁹ Brody, *ibid.*, goes on to say that there is clear evidence of a link between personal disorganization and *anomie* (feelings of rootlessness associated with the loss of familiar supporting and cultural guideposts) due both to migration as well as to social change. The observations relate specifically in which "nuclear and less-than-nuclear families have tended to replace extended family and community support systems."

³⁰ U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Women in Poverty* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1979), p. 30. It is important to note, also the full dimensions of this phenomenon. According to the U.S. Department of Labor in March 1978, more than half of all mothers with children under age 18 were in the labor force and since then the percentages have continued to rise dramatically. See U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Employment in Perspective: Working Women," no. 1, First Quarter 1979, Report 565, April 1979.

³¹ There is another aspect of education provision for the migrant child that has to do particularly with female children. That is, there are particular crecive rules (mores, customs, traditions, and local conventions) which are applicable to the behavior patterns of females

and therefore must be taught to emigrant female children who will return to their countries of origin. On the other hand, one wonders how many, if any, immigrant female youths have had to unlearn the rules and behaviors they had been brought up to accept, so as to adjust more effectively in the host country.

Many of the ideas expressed here were part of a brainstorming session that took place during the summer of 1979, at the twenty-second triennial conference of the International Council of Women, held in Nairobi, Kenya.

- ³² See Jack Harewood, "West Indian People" in *Caribbean Economy*, ed. George L. Beckford (Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1975).
- ³³ See Jean-Claude Garcia-Zamor, *The Ecology of Development Administration in Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados* (Washington, D.C.: Organization of American States, 1975).
- ³⁴ Ann Ratner Miller, "Components of Labor Force Growth," *Journal of Economic History* 22:1 (1962): 47-58.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- ³⁶ Cf. the commentary by Paule Marshall in this volume.
- ³⁷ Edwin Harwood and Claire C. Hodge, "Joos and the Negro Family: A Reappraisal," *The Public Interest* 23 (Spring 1979), p. 126.

³⁸See for example the novel by Louise Merriwether, *Daddy was a Number Runner* whose central character is an adolescent black American girl growing up in New York's Harlem during the Depression. See also Harwood and Hodge, p. 125. "This stereotype is so familiar, and so widely-accepted, that it is hard to believe that it could be false. Yet false is what available evidence shows it to be. Today, even in the poorest urban neighborhoods [black] men enjoy a clear economic superiority over [black] women, as the findings of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics' 1968-69 Urban Employment Survey demonstrated. Moreover, and more surprising, all the evidence we have for past periods offers no significant support for the assumption that [black] women ever were advantaged in the search for jobs."

³⁹Cf. Harwood and Hodge, *ibid.*, p. 125.

⁴⁰Harwood and Hodge, *ibid.*, p. 125.

PART I

PAPERS ON FEMALE IMMIGRANTS

BLACK IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN *BROWN GIRL, BROWNSTONES*

Paule Marshall

If African-Americans have suffered from a kind of invisibility (a subject which Ralph Ellison brilliantly explores in his 1952 novel *The Invisible Man*) and if the black foreigner has been treated to a double invisibility (as Roy Bryce-Laporte suggests in a article¹ on black immigrants), then the West Indian immigrant woman might be said to suffer from a triple invisibility as a black, a foreigner, and a woman. She simply hasn't been on the scene. Nor have her experiences been dealt with in any direct and substantial way in the social science literature.

In this article I write about a relatively small, obscure group of women who came to the United States from the island of Barbados, and about a specific time period: the years following World War I which witnessed the first major wave of West Indian immigration, and which coincided with the Great Migration northwards of thousands upon thousands of Black Americans from the rural South. In looking at the circumstances which brought the West Indian woman to the United States in the early twenties we discern the traditional reasons which prompted most other groups to emigrate. There was the poverty of those

idyllic-looking "islands in the sun" with their single cash crop of sugar, and limited, almost non-existent opportunities for the ~~mass~~ of people. "You know what it is to work hard and still never make a head-way?" one of the women characters in *Brown Girl, Brownstones* ask bitterly.

"That's Barbados. One crop. The black people having to work for next skin to nothing. The white people treating we like slaves and we taking it. The rum shop and the Church join together to keep we pacify and in ignorance. That's Barbados. It's a terrible thing to know that you gon be poor all yuh life no matter how hard you work. You does stop trying after a time. People does see you so and call you lazy, but it ain' laziness. It just that you does give up. You does kind of die inside . . . I tell you I wouldn't let my mother know peace till she found the money and send me to this man country."²

Along with the poverty there were the tremendous population pressures on these tiny islands, especially in a place like Barbados which is one of the most densely populated areas in the world. Because of these economic-demographic conditions, Barbadians have always been on the move -- whether it was to resettle in neighboring areas such as Trinidad and Guyana or to try their luck in places as far away as India where it is known that some of them went to help build the railroad shortly after the turn of the century.

For the women who left Barbados to come to the United States in the twenties, the voyage north was financed in a number of ways. Money was borrowed, a bit of family ground was sold, or a relative who had already made his or her way to the 'States' and found work dutifully sent home the money for the ticket. Then there was what was called Panama Money which, in many instances, paid the passage north. This was the name given to the remittances sent home by the fathers and sons who had gone off to work building the Panama Canal between 1904 and 1914. My mother, for example, came to the 'States' on money inherited from an older brother who had died working on the Isthmus. "Panama Money" -- it was always spoken of with great reverence when I was a little girl.

And so the women came. The majority of them were young, the daughters of estate workers, small landholders and artisans. My mother's father was a cooper -- a maker of barrels in which the sugar, the "life blood" of Barbados, was exported. And most of them were unmarried, although a number already had children. In some cases, this was the reason for them being sent to the 'States.' An aunt of mine was banished to New York for having disgraced the family with a child fathered by a pan boiler from British Guiana, who came to Barbados every year during the grinding season to work in the sugar factory. My mother arrived two years after my aunt as a tearful, overgrown baby of eighteen who didn't even know how to braid her own hair. She would never forget, she

used to tell us, how awed and overwhelmed she felt seeing New York rise shining and imperial from the sea that first day.

The search for work began almost immediately after their arrival. In contrast to the more recent wave of West Indian women who came in the sixties and found jobs -- many of them in factories or as nurses aides and sometimes even as secretaries, key punch operators and the like -- the only work available to these earlier arrivals (as well as to their African-American counterparts from the South) was as domestics -- or as the women in *Brown Girl, Brownstones* termed the work they were forced to do, "scrubbing floors."

These jobs were often sleeping-in arrangements which saw these young women overworked, underpaid and given only every other Thursday off. A short story of mine published some years ago³ takes place at the wake of a Barbadian woman who had worked as a sleep-in domestic since coming to the U.S. All she had to show for her long forty years of labor was a brownstone house in Brooklyn which she never really got to live in very much and closets filled with clothes she never had the opportunity to wear.

Then there was "day's work" for the others. For the women without a steady job, day's work was often a humiliating business of waiting on a street corner in some white neighborhood for the local housewives to come along and offer them a few hours work cleaning their houses.

Looking back on it now it seems to me that those Barbadian women accepted these ill-paying, low status jobs with an astonishing lack of visible resentment. For them they were simply a means to an end: The end being the down payment on a brownstone house, a college education for their children and the much coveted middle class status these achievements represented -- and they were willing to take low in order to obtain them. As Bryce-Laporte⁴ points out, the black immigrant was a fierce believer in and practitioner of the Protestant Ethic.

Even when they married and had children, these women continued to work. I remember the trauma I would undergo on those occasions when I was left with a neighbor while my mother disappeared for the day to scrub some stranger's floor.

Along with work, the lives of the women revolved around house and children. Husbands, it seemed to me as a little girl, occupied a somewhat peripheral place in their constellation aside, of course, from their role as wage-earners. Following the traditional customs of life in Barbados, their outings with their husbands were mainly confined to church, weddings, funerals and wakes; and boat excursions up the Hudson in the summer and the annual dance of the "Sons and Daughters of Barbados" in the winter.

Apart from these occasions, the women looked to each other for their social life -- and with the women in *Brown Girl, Brownstones*, as well as with my mother and

her friends in real life, this consisted mainly of sitting around the kitchen table after their return from work each day and talking. Endlessly talking. Much of the talk had to do with home -- meaning Barbados; the places, people, and events there as they remembered them. It was clearly an effort on their part to retain their cultural identity amidst the perplexing newness of America. Perhaps sensing the disregard in which they were held by the society, their triple invisibility as it were, they felt the need more strongly than other immigrant groups to hold onto the memories that defined them.

In terms of their relations with black American women it seems to me from what I observed as a child that the West Indian woman considered herself both different and somehow superior. From the talk which circulated around our kitchen it was clear, for example, that my mother and her friends perceived of themselves as being more ambitious than black Americans, more hard working and in terms of the racial question, more militant and unafraid in their dealings with white people. "Be Jesus Christ, in this white man world you got to take your mouth and make a gun," one of the women characters in *Brown Girl, Brownstones* declares. *

In real life my mother used to say with pride that she probably wouldn't live long if she were to go South since she would never take any "foolishness" from the crackers there: "They'd have to string me up from the nearest tree first," she would boast.

The distance these immigrant women sought to put between themselves and other black women was often reinforced by the society itself, which often praised them for being more reliable, trustworthy and hard working. In *Brown Girl, Brownstones* a white woman speaks of her West Indian domestic in these terms:

"I've never been able to get another girl as efficient as Ettie. When she cleaned the house was spotless. And she was so honest. I could leave my purse, anything, lying around and never worry. She was that kind of a person. I've always told my friends there's something different, something special about Negroes from the West Indies. Some of the others are . . . well . . . just impossible!"⁵

With this kind of insidious divide and rule encouragement it is no wonder that even in the face of the racism they inevitably encountered, these women sought to escape identification with those who were considered the pariahs of the society. "If only we had had our own language," my mother used to lament -- meaning by that something which would have clearly established that they were different, foreign, and therefore perhaps more acceptable.

The racial pride and political consciousness which they believed they possessed to a greater degree than American Blacks was perhaps most dramatically expressed in their involvement in the Garvey Movement of the twenties. Not only did they faithfully contribute to the Universal Negro Improvement Association out of their meager salaries

but they attended meetings, marched in parades, and served as members of the nurses' brigade, many of them, when the movement was at its height. And, talk of Garvey and black self-help and black pride still figured in their conversations long after the Movement had failed. They remained steadfast Garveyites to the end.

All in all it seems to me that these women who are now -- the ones who are still living -- the mothers and grandmothers of my generation accomplished, in general, what they had set out to do in coming to America. By dint of hard work, sacrifice, and a fierce determination and will, they acquired the house, the university degree for their children, the cars, the fur coats (which were usually, I remember, black Persian lamb) and, more recently, the trips "home" to Barbados each year to celebrate independence.

They accepted without question the materialistic ethic of this country while at the same time remaining, it seems to me, strangely aloof from America. Their aloofness, which was perhaps a defensive device, was expressed in the almost contemptuous way they insisted on referring to the United States as "this man's country." It would always, in other words, be foreign territory; someone else's turf. This sentiment was captured in a host of other ways as well, such as their speech, which remained as stubbornly Barbadian as when they first walked off the ships at Ellis Island.

They were, for all their insularity, fears and misguided materialism, women of impressive strength, authority and style. Unfortunately, because they were women -- and black women at that -- this country never saw fit to acknowledge either their presence or their worth, or to make full use of the tremendous human resource they represented. Their experience as immigrant women has yet to be regarded as worthwhile historical and sociological data in its own right.

FOOTNOTES

¹See Roy S. Bryce-Laporte, "Black Immigrants: The Experience of Invisibility and Inequality," *Journal of Black Studies* 3(1): 27-59.

²Paule Marshall, *Brown Girl, Brownstones*. (New York: Atheneum, 1959), p. 70.

³Paule Marshall, *Soul Clap Hands and Sing*. (New York: Atheneum, 1961).

⁴Roy S. Bryce-Laporte, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

⁵Paule Marshall, *Brown Girl, Brownstones*, p. 288.

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CARIBBEAN MIGRATION: A PERSPECTIVE ON WOMEN*

Monica Gordon

INTRODUCTION

The World Conference of the International Women's Year held in Mexico City in 1975 emphasized the need to reevaluate the status and roles of women and to break down the barriers to their achievement of equal rights, opportunities, and responsibilities with men. It has been argued that, in the modernization process, women became more segregated from the production process and their roles became more limitedly and rigorously defined by their reproduction functions. The centralization of social, economic, and political systems and the reduction in kinship autonomy effectively separate the home from the workplace and women were less able to take advantage of employment opportunities because of their family responsibilities.¹

*The data source of this paper is my dissertation, "Identification and Adaptation: A Study of Two Groups of Immigrants from Jamaica in New York City" (City University of New York, 1979). The focus is on immigrants who arrived in the United States under the auspices of the 1965 Immigration Act. The data collected have specific reference to Jamaican immigrants; however, the commonality of circumstances among English-speaking Caribbean people allows generalizations for the region.

The separation of work and home has reinforced the sex-role division of labor and the subordination of women in industrial societies which both religious and legal institutions have traditionally supported. More recently, social science has provided the scientific rationale. Durkheim² attributed the sexual division of labor to a historical process of male-female differentiation in the evolutionary process which endowed women with the characteristics of physical weakness, emotionalism, and dependence. These "feminine characteristics," he claimed, are complementary to the male's physical strength and protectiveness and the sexual division of labor which is the natural result of these characteristics is the source of conjugal solidarity.

The modern formulation of the male-female complementarity of the sexual division of labor has been elaborated in the Parsonian paradigm of instrumental/expressive functions in the conjugal relationship. The instrumental role assigned to males provides access to the public sphere of government and industry and obligates them to the economic support of females and children. Conversely, women, by virtue of their nurturant and emotional nature, are assigned the expressive or affective role which ensconced them in the home and away from the arena where important economic, political, and social decisions are made. This structural-functional perspective, ever concerned with social balance, supports the sexual division of labor and arbitrarily endorses the economic subordination

of women, in the wider interest of averting the conflicts which would inevitably result if women compete with men for individual achievement and social mobility.³ This view of women is further reinforced by stereotypes of females in everyday life which imply genetic determinism, and through the socialization process.⁴

While men's roles are primarily associated with their economic and public activities, women's activities are associated with their family roles. Only when women are not attached to men can they develop a separate identity and their own social status.⁵

The social position of women in all societies is defined by their family connections and their social status is derived from the men to whom they are attached. While they do not necessarily suffer loss of social status as a result of the arrangement, their dependence upon men represents a loss of economic status and the ability to make independent decisions. This has negative consequences for working women, whether or not they are attached to men. Their value in the labor force is depressed because gender stereotypes continue to plague occupational roles by defining the occupational areas and the rewards suitable for women.

Although the economic and social participation of women varies from society to society one fact remains constant: Women, by virtue of their economic subordination, remain subordinate in all other areas of social life even in the home which is, supposedly, their sphere of activity.

In the developed countries women have been entering the labor force in increasing numbers; however, it has been noted that the increased participation does not represent a shift from traditional female employment but rather an expansion of such occupational areas which also require higher levels of education.⁶ Oppenheimer observed that the major characteristics of female occupations are that they are transferable, do not require long-term commitment, and can be easily resumed if or when they are interrupted. Women's economic activity, then, is seen as supportive of a more permanent economic source (the male) and is seen as usually to be undertaken when the income from the primary source is inadequate for the family needs or for special items, a car, vacation, etcetera.

Economic activities of women in developing countries are influenced by the level of economic development, the educational background of the women, and their family relationships, marital status, and ideological beliefs. The level of economic activities is lowest among Moslem women and highest among sub-Saharan African women. The developing countries of Latin America and the Caribbean have levels of participation comparable to the developed countries. Table 1 illustrates this point.

In countries where women have the highest levels of economic activity, the level of economic development is usually at the subsistence level, and agricultural rather than industrial. It gives credence to the argument that industrialization reduces the economic participation

TABLE 1
ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALES
AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL FEMALE POPULATION
OF SELECTED DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Country	Year	Percentage
<u>Developed Countries</u>		
U.S.A.	1970	29.5
U.S.S.R.	1970	44.0
United Kingdom	1971	32.0
Japan	1973	37.0
France	1973	30.1
Sweden	1970	29.9
<u>Developing Countries</u>		
<u>Caribbean</u>		
Bahamas	1970	32.9
Barbados	1970	26.0
Guyana	1960	14.2 ^a
Jamaica	1973	34.2 ^b
Trinidad and Tobago	1971	19.7 ^a
<u>Sub-Saharan Africa</u>		
Botswana	1964	51.2
Upper Volta	1970	56.2
Lesotho	1966	56.6
Ivory Coast	1964	47.3
Senegal	1970	33.8
Tanzania	1967	43.7
<u>Moslem Countries</u>		
Egypt	1966	4.0
Morocco	1971	8.0
Iran	1966	8.3
Pakistan	1971	5.5

SOURCE: United Nations, E/Conf.66/3/Add.3, 1975:20-23

^aHindu/Moslem influence may account for low female participation. This situation would have changed since 1960 and it is expected that Guyana is now comparable with other Caribbean countries.

^bJamaica, Dept. of Statistics, Labor Force 1973:181.

of women.⁷ Moslem women are excluded from economic activities because religious proscriptions restrict their activities beyond the home. Caribbean women are influenced by the Western concept of women's place in society but are constrained by the realism of their social and economic circumstances. Their situation presents a paradox for the structural-functionalists who define women's roles as expressive and affective. While they are providers of these functions, they are also involved in the instrumental provider role and quite often as the only provider. The sexual division of labor is operative when economic and social and cultural determinants support such an arrangement.

For the majority of women in the Caribbean, earning a living has been as necessary as it has been for males. The economic support of a man, which is a general expectation taken for granted by women in most societies, cannot be presumed by a large portion of women in the Caribbean. This is not because these women have rejected male support as contributory to their subordinate status; they assume their own economic responsibilities because:

- a. the westernized system of guaranteed male support for women and children has never been institutionalized among a large sector of Caribbean peoples; and
- b. the economic marginality of some men negates any expectation of traditional male support

These conditions are the byproducts of historical and contemporary circumstances of limited economic resources

and inequitable distribution. As a consequence, Caribbean peoples have had to seek economic opportunities abroad. Since the mid-nineteenth century, disenfranchised people have sought refuge and economic viability in other countries. However, in the literature on migration women have not been focused upon as independent persons motivated to emigrate in search of better opportunities. This scholastic perspective which views women solely as dependents of men may arise from the fact that women rarely migrate independently of men or other family connections. However, Caribbean women are among the few exceptions who migrate independent of male sponsorship.

THE STUDY

The purpose of this paper is to explore the conditions which motivate and facilitate the migration of women from the English-speaking Caribbean to the United States and their patterns of adaptation in the host country. The argument is made here that women, like men, seek to escape from the social and economic limitations of their society in search of opportunities to meet family obligations and for self-improvement which are unavailable to them in their own countries. The perception of America as the land of opportunity still has strong appeal in the Caribbean. However, access is determined by the selective process of immigration laws so that only certain categories of individuals are

selected to immigrate and not all who desire to, do so. The paper will therefore examine some of the characteristics of immigrant women, and the adjustment process in their efforts to ameliorate their social and economic conditions. The major variables to be considered are family relations, education, occupation, income, and their assessment of their situation in the United States.

BACKGROUND FACTORS AND MOTIVATION TO MIGRATE

When existing social conditions fail to satisfy the individual's needs, at least minimally, certain members of the collectivity will entertain the notion of moving away to other places, where, as they see it, they will have a better chance of satisfying their unmet needs and overcome deprivation.⁸

"Unmet need" and "deprivation" are relevant to the immigrant's circumstances: Stark economic realities of finding regular employment and income or a more complex set of needs which often include education and social mobility. The primary motivation for migration from the Caribbean is economic, although social, cultural, and political factors may have combined to create the "push" to leave. Conversely, perceived opportunities abroad are the "pull" factors in the final decision to migrate. Important for this study is the fact that females can make the independent decision to migrate. It suggests some personal independence and autonomy in the decision-making process.

It is worthwhile to explore the source of their autonomy when women, as a rule, are subject people.

The "plantation system" as a social and economic model has been applied as a classificatory model for the former British West Indies. Its characteristics include direct or indirect political and/or economic external control, and foreign influence governing the socio-cultural internal institutions.⁹ Gordon K. Lewis summarized the "plantation concept" when he stated that

"... not only the dominant institutions but also the controlling attitudes of the society have been shaped, to a great extent, by the white European influence. Its ethnic composition has been basically Negro but its social and political directions have been European. And, moreover, selectively European."¹⁰

The selectivity of the European influence, he explained, deprived the Caribbean peoples of benefits from the great achievements in Europe but exposed them to its racialism and exploitation.

The contemporary plantation-like system of the Caribbean, Matthews¹¹ has argued, is the repository of a vast New World tradition of customs and attitudes, adopted or adapted, established and developed within the institution of slavery and as part of the institution. This is not to suggest historical determinism in slavery as the definer of social life in the present-day Caribbean. Rather, it suggests that the hierarchical social system which developed during that period and the subsequent

emergence of race and color and class as determinants of access to social goods and services, continue to find expression under different economic and political arrangements and, therefore, provide no incentive for certain individuals to effect changes in their social behavioral patterns¹² and attitudes.

The race/class/color system not only determines access to social and economic rewards, but also influences family composition and relationships. The institution of marriage and family as developed in Europe was not practiced by white males in positions of authority in the West Indies and was legally forbidden to slaves so that, from the beginning, the kind of family relationships that flourished were consensually agreed to and often exploitative rather than legally contracted.¹³ Colonialism and Victorian moralism converted the upper and middle classes to legal monogamous marriage in order to consolidate their class status, but the lower classes, who existed largely outside the influence of European institutions, evolved family systems which reflected their own social economic realities. These may include legal marriage sooner or later. And, while family structure and relationships¹⁴ are not the subjects of this paper, they do have implications for women, given the tendency to associate women with family roles.

Family law in the British West Indies is based on monogamous marriage and property rights and inheritance are conferred accordingly. Considering that a majority

of children are born outside the context of legal marriage, family laws not only discriminate against women and their children born out of wedlock, they also deny the reality of the situation.¹⁵ This is not to imply that there is no stability in non-marital family relationships or that women in such relationships are economically worse off than women in legal marital relationships. The economic impoverishment and marginality of a large part of the male population invalidate their socially assigned provider role in the family and consequently discourage the establishment of permanent ties. Therefore, they may opt for short-term liaisons and when a relationship dissolves, they frequently feel no obligation to support the children that may have been born from the relationship.¹⁶

Women, on the other hand, see marriage as the means of social mobility or the consolidation of a social status position. Judith Blake,¹⁷ contrary to other researchers, observed that Jamaican women are more apt to delay marriage when economic security is unfavorable. It has been said that women in common-law relationships are independent agents, not subservient chattels; they make the important decisions about children, jobs, and other aspects of their lives. Formal marriage may have definite drawbacks for both partners: For women, it entails loss of equality, less freedom to move about, fewer contacts, and more loneliness.¹⁸ Lucille Mathurin countered this argument on female independence. She has argued that

Any analysis of the status of the Caribbean woman today has to take into account the occupational context in which the black majority functions, relative to the occupational positioning of the rest of the society. Her alleged position of influence and power in the family and community has to be judged against the background of the lower status-bearing jobs which the society always allocated to her.¹⁹

She conceded that there is some validity to the "rather tired cliché Black Matriarch," given the number of women who head households -- approximately one-third of Jamaica's adult females. However, she denied that being head of household provides natural access to authority. These women are more likely to be economically depressed and thus more vulnerable to sexual exploitation.²⁰

West Indian women of all classes regard children as blessings, are proud to give birth, are happy to cherish babies, and are ready to make sacrifices for a child's future.²¹ Of Puerto Rican women it is said that rewards come from bearing children rather than from holding low status jobs.²² Caribbean women accept the universal role of childbearer regardless of their socioeconomic and marital status. They also assume the responsibility for the care and protection of their children. Women are often unable to provide the physical care for their children because of the economic roles they must play and therefore must depend upon relatives for such service. The maternal grandmother often serves such a function and she is in turn supported by the daughter. However, some

other person in the extended kinship network will often oblige. The absence of this arrangement among immigrant women has consequences for family relationships in the host countries.²³

The situation of Caribbean women is not all negative. Because of the responsibilities entrusted to them, they have developed self-reliance and are quick to grasp opportunities that will enhance their social and economic well-being. Women are encouraged to achieve and there are no structural or attitudinal barriers to their participation in educational and training institutions, especially if they pursue the traditional female roles.

EDUCATION, OCCUPATION, AND LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Literacy levels in the Caribbean rank favorably with those of the developed countries. The education of females (at least to the high school level) is comparable to that of males and in some instances exceeds the latter. In Jamaica, although registration of males in elementary schools exceeds that of females, in the high schools females outnumber males. However, the pattern is reversed at the university level, where males outnumber females almost two to one.²⁴ The nursing and teaching professions have long been a source of employment and social mobility for women from the lower socio-economic sector. Mothers, especially, will make great sacrifices to see that their children are trained in some occupational area. Among

the many reasons are the desire for higher status for their children, the awareness of the tenuousness of male support necessitating realization that women have independent means of support, and (last but not least) the role of children as insurance against their poverty in old age.

Education has had high value among British West Indians for its acquisition not only moves one into desirable occupational areas but also is a stronger validation of status in a class-conscious society than money derived from low-status occupations, especially those requiring manual labor. When individuals emigrate, educational goals are often included in their perception of a better life.

Women are well-represented in the labor force at all occupational levels in the Caribbean but, like their counterparts in other parts of the world, they are over-represented in the traditional female occupations -- such as nurses and teachers. In Jamaica, for instance, women make up the occupational distribution shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
WOMEN IN JAMAICAN LABOR FORCE, BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY
(1960)

Occupational Category	Percentage
Professional, technical	64.2
Administrative, executive, managerial	18.2
Clerical	49.9
Sales	65.3
Agriculture	16.6
Mining	20.1
Crafts	29.1
Service	86.1
Unclassified	61.2

SOURCE: United Nations E/Conf.66/4, Annex 7 1975

Men are significantly represented in administrative, managerial, crafts, and operative jobs. Table 1 shows that Caribbean women are among the more economically active women in the world; their socialization includes orientation toward work outside the home and they are not likely to have ambivalent feelings about work, even when they are married and have preschool children. Marriage does not limit women's participation in the labor force unless they are unskilled and the status derived from marriage limits the kinds of employment they can accept. Such women are likely to take advantage of employment opportunities abroad, since the anonymity of the situation protects them from socio-cultural proscriptions.

Educationally, occupationally, and in labor force participation, women in the Caribbean more closely

approximate women in developed countries than those in developing countries. They assume more of the total economic responsibilities for themselves and their dependents, even when they are married with husbands present, than most women elsewhere. Because of these responsibilities and because of the economic limitations of their society, many seek opportunities abroad. England, Canada, and the United States are the major countries of destination. They bring to these countries their determination to improve themselves and create better opportunities for their children to whom they have strong commitments. The following section of the paper will examine the migration process and their situation in the United States.

WOMEN IN THE MIGRATION FROM THE CARIBBEAN TO THE UNITED STATES

Until the late nineteenth century, the United States maintained an open door immigration policy. Restrictions were imposed toward the end of the nineteenth century because of fears that immigrants would lower the standard of living of American workers and because the majority of the "new immigrants" were of non-Nordic origin or non-whites. A series of legislation started in 1882 culminated in the 1924 Immigration Law which limited immigration to 2 percent of each foreign-born group resident in the United States since 1880.

The then British West Indies, although a part of the Western Hemisphere which was granted non-quota status, did not benefit from this provision. Neither did they derive any benefits from the favorable quota allotment of Great Britain, which left most of its 43 percent allotment of the total European quota unfilled. The "national origins quota system" remained in effect until 1965 when the Congress passed a new law that resulted in reversing the patterns of immigration to the United States.²⁵

The 1965 immigration law (Public Law 89-236) became effective July 1, 1968; it emphasized humanitarian rather than the racial principles which dominated immigration since 1882. The quota system was phased out between 1965 and 1968 by allowing individual countries to retain their quotas but placing unused visas in a pool to be used by preference immigrants from countries with waiting lists. This provision was intended to reduce the backlog of over-subscribed countries so that all countries would compete equitably by 1969 for visas on a first-come, first-served basis without preference due to national origin.

The conservative aspect of the 1965 immigration law was the limitation placed on the number of immigrants who could be issued visas each year and the clause which insisted on Department of Labor certification which ensured that immigrants fell into the categories set up by the law and posed no threat to the native work force.

The British West Indies benefited from this provision, as one of the independent countries of the Western

Hemisphere,²⁶ which was limited to 120,000 immigrants yearly, with no more than 20,000 from any one country. The new immigration law favored first family members (80 percent) and workers (20 percent). In the worker category, preference was given to occupations and skills needed by the United States. This provision gave rise to the "brain drain" theory, especially in connection with the West Indies and the Philippines.²⁷ Immigrants with high occupational skills were, however, not the majority from the West Indies; semi-skilled and unskilled labor holds this distinction and, increasingly after 1970, immigrants fell into the dependent category, i.e., children of immigrants. Virginia Dominiguez distinguished the main features of the West Indian migration:²⁸

- a. females vastly outnumber males;
- b. the immigration included professionals, clerical workers, craftsmen, and operatives; and
- c. British West Indians migrated in family groups less frequently than most other immigrants to the United States.

Between 1967 and 1969, the majority of the visas issued in the region were granted to private household workers who were females. Since their employment condition required that they live where they work, it was inconvenient to have other family members migrate at the same time. Thus the third feature is a condition of the first and has implications for the adjustment of immigrants and their family situations. Females predominated in the second category also. Nurses alone accounted for more than 50

percent of the professional category from Jamaica²⁹ and this holds true for the other territories. Caribbean nurses were recruited intensively to relieve the shortage in hospitals in the New York area. Ramidar³⁰ commenting on the recruitment process in Trinidad, suggested that Labor Department certification was obtained for nurses by the prospective employers. Accommodations were also provided and assistance given to obtain licenses and professional certification when necessary. These immigrants, unlike immigrants of earlier periods, were integrated into the labor force according to their occupational skills. Female immigrants of the earlier period, regardless of education and skills, were employed only as household domestics or in the garment industry.³¹

Although the majority of immigrant women fall into the category of private household workers, the distribution into other categories indicates the variety of occupational skills among West Indian women. It has been suggested that the people who migrate are highly motivated to achieve and, since the United States is seen as the land of opportunity, we will now explore the situation of these women in the United States.

The provisions of the immigration laws determine who is eligible for immigrant visas and the personal situation of the individuals is the final determinant of who emigrates and in what order. In addition to those features mentioned by Dominiguez above, these other features are identifiable among females:

- a. the adult who migrates alone with expectation of being joined by her family at a later period;
- b. those who immigrate as complete family units whereby the adjustments are experienced by all at the same time;
- c. single individuals with no dependents; and
- d. individuals who leave family behind with no expectation of being joined by other family members.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE IMMIGRATION PROVISION

The type of migration situation influences settlement patterns and adaptation. The complete family unit has the advantage of supporting one another and sharing the experiences of the adjustment process. The last category listed above is more of a commuter than an immigrant and is absent from home for only relatively short periods. The aim is often to supplement the family income and is most suited to women who have professional skills, such as nurses, which allow them to find employment easily on a temporary basis. Unskilled unemployed housewives are often also in this category as they may accept domestic employment which they can leave whenever they wish to return home. Single women fall into varying occupational categories and have the greatest options for self-improvement through educational and occupational upgrading because of the absence of other family obligations.

It is the women in the first category who are most likely to experience the greatest difficulty in

reorganizing their lives and reconstituting their families. The reconstitution of families often depends upon marital status, ages of children, job situation, and income; several years may elapse before the process is completed. Earlier we mentioned the dependence on extended kinship for child care and other services. The lone female immigrant must cope with economic as well as physical care and protection. If her employment situation requires on-the-job residence, she will delay the arrival of her family until they are old enough to care for themselves. Immigration laws favor children under eighteen years of age. Immigrants, however, give preference to older children over younger children because they can care for themselves, at least physically. The immigrants must also demonstrate that they have the means to support dependents and must often pay for the expenses of the newly arrived dependents. This often results in the separation of mother and children for several years with only brief visits between. The consequence is, sometimes, here inability to exercise parental authority over her new arrivals because she is not accepted as an authority figure. This is further complicated by the fact that she is often absent from the home pursuing the means of their support.

MIGRATION REASONS

Although economic reasons are at the forefront of this immigration, there are other underlying reasons in

the decision to emigrate. Table 3 shows the responses to the question, "Why did you decide to emigrate?"

TABLE 3
MIGRATION REASONS BY SEX (JAMAICA)

Reason for Migration	Male	Female
Economic	11.3	27.3
Self-improvement (education)	50.0	32.8
Join family	33.6	37.1
Other	1.6	6.3
	100.0/62	100.0/128

$$\chi^2=10.1246, \text{ df}=3, p=.01$$

Women are more likely to indicate basic economic reasons -- need to get a better job or earn more money -- as their reason for immigrating. Men stress self-improvement -- chance to further their education. This pattern seems to be in keeping with the situation of women in the Caribbean discussed earlier. Women have pressing economic responsibilities which do not allow them to look beyond these immediate needs. Because the women migrate first, the men who follow them are more able to look beyond the basic economic necessities because these have already been provided by the women. Also, the majority of women came under their own recognizance, while the men came as the spouse or dependent child of the women.

THE POST-MIGRATION SITUATION

The process of adaptation is difficult even under favorable circumstances. "Culture Shock" is the concept associated with immigrants' early experiences in the new society.³² One aspect of the culture shock is the system of racism in the United States. Other aspects include the strangeness of social and cultural patterns and the uncertainty about the proper behavioral patterns. For some women with children there is the additional burden of giving guidance and direction to their children without the knowledge of the situation in which they must instruct them. These, however, are contingencies with which they eventually learn to deal.

In the New York City metropolitan area, Brooklyn has the largest concentration of West Indians, especially those who migrated after 1960. They have created a community which reflects their social and cultural background so that their ethnicity is emphasized and provides them with a sense of collective identity absent in immigrants of earlier periods.³³

WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE COMMUNITY

Our study of Jamaican immigrants revealed that women are less active than men in social organizations. These organizations are often extensions of associations in the country of origin -- e.g., high school alumnae

associations, work associations -- created for the purpose of continuity and the establishment of a social network based on old associations. For many women, their educational background or occupational status does not provide identification with such organizations therefore their activities are confined to interaction with relatives and friends on an individual basis.³⁴ The differential in activities may also result from a transfer of behavioral patterns which focus the women's attention in the home and give the men more personal freedom, although interviews and observation indicate that the sex division of labor is less rigid. Where women must work and there are no kin to share domestic responsibility, immigrant women and men develop a more equitable pattern of exchange.

Both men and women tend to associate equally with friends and relatives who are of the same national origin, but females are more likely than males to have other West Indians as their next category of associates while the men tend toward a wider range. This difference, however, is not significant, and could be the result of the relatively wider occupational contact that males have.

EDUCATION, OCCUPATION, AND INCOME

We noted earlier that literacy levels of West Indian countries compare favorably with developed countries and that females are encouraged to achieve some level of training that will ensure self-support beyond the subsistence level. It is then reasonable to assume that they

will take advantage of educational opportunities in the host society to improve their education and upgrade their occupational skills. The data on Jamaican immigrants to the United States show similarities between the educational levels of men and women, indicating that women are as likely as men to take advantage of educational opportunities (see Table 4). Compared with the situation at

TABLE 4
EDUCATION BY SEX (JAMAICAN IMMIGRANTS)

Level of Education ^a	Male	Female
High	54%	51%
Medium	26	30
Low	20	19
	100%/59	100%/129

$$\chi^2 = .46294, df=2, p=.79$$

aHigh educational level = college and above
Medium educational level = high school or equivalent
Low educational level = less than high school

home up to 1970, men were almost twice as likely as women to have post-secondary education. The likely conclusion is that women are limited by lack of opportunities in their country rather than inhibition in pursuing such goals.

The achievement of such goals, however, requires determination and drive, since they are accomplished simultaneously with full-time employment and sometimes

family responsibilities which could include total support of dependent children. These goals are pursued because they associate education with occupation and income and they are anxious to increase their occupational prestige and income potential. In addition, the idea of returning to their country with qualifications that will enhance their career opportunity is another incentive. Men and women in higher education/occupation categories indicate their intention to return to their own country more frequently than do those in other categories. Although the difference in occupational levels between the sample of males and females is not statistically significant (See Table 5) especially in the highest occupational level,

TABLE 5
OCCUPATION BY SEX (JAMAICAN IMMIGRANTS)

Occupational Category	Male	Female
Professional/technical	27%	26%
Clerical/sales	28	39
Service/operative	45	35
	100%/58	100%/124

$$\chi^2 = 2.4782, df=2, p=.28$$

women tend to cluster in the clerical/sales area while men are concentrated in the service sector (mostly as operatives and unskilled workers). Educational levels

seem at variance with occupation, but some of the respondents indicated that they were in the process of acquiring higher education while they work at whatever jobs are available until they acquire the desired qualifications.

The professional and technical areas include persons in academia, social work, and the health field. Neither men nor women in the sample are significantly represented in managerial or administrative positions. Although women were significantly represented in immigration statistics as household domestic workers, they seem to have shifted to occupations in hospitals and nursing homes as nurse's aides and to other unskilled types of employment. This not only provides more flexibility in working hours but also gives greater job security as a result of unionization, health care benefits, and annual vacations with pay. An equivalent percentage of men and women are employed by voluntary non-profit organizations, but a larger percentage of males are employed in private industry.

Income demonstrates significant inequity between males and females. As shown in Table 5, 27 percent of the men and 26 percent of the women indicated professional status, yet 33 percent of the males are in the high income category (over \$15,000) while only 16 percent of the women are in this income bracket (see Table 6). The income distribution reflects Oppenheimer's observation that increased educational opportunities for women represent an expansion of traditional female employment roles, not

a significant shift to more lucrative employment. Immigrant women, like other women, are highly represented in these areas.

In spite of the lesser income earned by women, they are economically better off than they would have been in their own country. They are able to make long-range plans on the basis of steady regular income and they have the means to exercise the independence which has been attributed to them in their country but which they never had the economic base and means to support. One male, commenting on changes in the behavioral patterns of women, complained that they were more assertive, more demanding in their relationships with their men, and more willing to extricate themselves from unsatisfactory relationships.

ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTION OF THE SITUATION

Migration is not without its psychological consequences. As Everett Lee³⁵ has observed: "Knowledge of the area of destination is seldom exact, and indeed some of the advantages and disadvantages of an area can only be perceived by living there." Eisenstadt³⁶ further elaborated upon the situation when he stated that the process of transplantation involves a shrinkage of the immigrants' social life and participation and it becomes necessary to redefine established roles, acquire new roles, and evolve an identification with the new society compatible with the society's values and goals.

Earlier the dependence on the extended kin relations for various kinds of services was mentioned. It should be noted also that kinship is the primary association of many women. Immigration severs that relationship and the work situation often plunges women into the world of strangers with whom the labor exchange is the only common bond. Private household workers have been characterized as the most exploited of all workers.³⁷ In addition to long hours of work and relatively low wages, they are more likely to work in the suburbs, which limits their contact with friends and relatives and their chances to share in the activities of their ethnic community.

Although women as well as men indicated that they are satisfied with their jobs and that they have achieved goals, the pattern changed when they were asked if they considered themselves "better off" in America. The difference in the response is statistically significant ($p=.01$). Women responded in the negative. Twenty-four percent of the males found life in Jamaica "not as good as in the U.S." as against 8 percent of the females. Twenty percent of the females said they found life easier to cope with in Jamaica as opposed to 10 percent of the men. The majority of the respondents, however, found the two societies too dissimilar for comparison.³⁸

Since these women have indicated that they have achieved their goals and that they are satisfied with their job situations, the source of their dissatisfaction lies outside of their economic and personal achievements.

While further research is clearly indicated to arrive at a more conclusive, definitive picture of their situation, Eisenstadt's observation seems applicable. The shrinkage of social life and participation results in social and psychological insecurity.

This finding of the dissatisfaction of women in the United States is inconsistent with findings for similar groups of women in England³⁹ and in Canada.⁴⁰ Women there were found to express greater levels of satisfaction than men. There is no ready explanation for this. The men's dissatisfaction is understood to stem from impatience with the progress they are making in those countries. Conversely, men in the United States are satisfied because they define themselves as doing well. It is certainly not that these other women are doing better economically than women in the U.S.; in fact, the reverse is true. The levels of expectations may differ and function in defining satisfaction.

Contact maintenance with their country through regular visits, letters, and other communication devices is significantly higher among women than among men. This reflects their family role orientation and the fact that they often have dependents left behind.

Women show no greater awareness of racial discrimination than men. Those in the upper educational-occupational categories are more willing to acknowledge that they have encountered discrimination than are lower echelon workers. For the lower categories of workers, the

employment situation defines their subordinate position. Also, because service occupations have become almost totally minority and/or immigrant oriented, they have less contact with the more recognizable forms of discrimination.

Caribbean immigrant women have responded to their situation with the vigor which has enabled them to survive through their difficult history. They have retained a positive sense of self which enabled them to transfer the positive elements of their society into meaningful activities for their enhancement in the host country.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion on English-speaking Caribbean women attempted to place them in the general perspective of women and examine the special circumstances which motivate and facilitate their migration to the United States and their adjustment to the socio-cultural demands of the society while they pursue their personal goals. The tentative comparisons which were possible under the conditions of restricted data revealed that Caribbean women more closely approximate their counterparts in the developed rather than the developing countries in their educational, occupational, and labor force participation. The economic underdevelopment and dependence on foreign capital have placed Caribbean women among the more

geographically mobile, many as independent individuals seeking their own means of social and economic advancement.

Caribbean women differ most significantly from other women (with the exception of Latin America) in their family relationships. The non-legal nature of some family relationships provides women with independence and victimizes them at the same time, since they are often left with total economic responsibilities for family in systems which ignore family realities.

Women reported that they have achieved the goals they set for themselves, but they show lower levels of satisfaction than males. The logical interpretation seems to lie in the roles of women, which involve them more deeply in family relationships. The separation from the social network of the wider kinship of their home society seems to be the major source of their dissatisfaction with life in the United States. The data show that they are equal to men in education, occupation, and labor force participation. Only in income is there a significant difference, a situation which reflects social bias against women rather than lack of capabilities.

NOTES

- ¹United Nations, E/Conf. 66/4; Ester Boserup and Christina Liljencrantz (1975); Jessie Bernard (1968), p. 375.
- ²Emile Durkheim (1964), pp. 50-63.
- ³Talcott Parsons and Robert Bales (1955).
- ⁴Cynthia Epstein, *Woman's Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), pp. 121-122.
- ⁵Joan Acker (1973), p. 937.
- ⁶Valerie Oppenheimer (1973), p. 948.
- ⁷Boserup.
- ⁸T. T. Mangalam and H. K. Scharzweller (Spring 1970), p. 10.
- ⁹George Beckford (1972); Lloyd Best (1968), pp. 283-326; Sidney Mintz (Spring 1974); Eric Wolf (1971), pp. 163-164.
- ¹⁰Gordon K. Lewis (1968), p. 55.
- ¹¹Dom Basil Matthews (1973), p. 300.
- ¹²There have been significant changes in the Caribbean since the late 1960s. The questioning of certain values and attitudes and attempts to extricate themselves from external economic control through alternative development strategies imply consciousness of the contradictions

of their situation. Improved economic and social conditions under new political franchise has only served to emphasize the social depreciation of the poorest sector of the population and exacerbate their dissatisfaction.

- ¹³Douglas Hall (1973), p. 122.
- ¹⁴Family structure of the Caribbean has generated interest and a considerable body of literature has emerged since the 1950s. For discussion on the subject see Judith Blake (1961); Edith Clark, *My Mother Who Fathered Me* (Winchester, MA: Allen and Unwin, Inc., 1953); Fernando Henriques, *Family and Color in Jamaica* (New York: Humanities Press, Inc., 1956); Michael G. Smith, *West Indian Family Structure* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962); Raymond T. Smith, *The Negro Family in British Guiana* (New York: Humanities Press, Inc., 1956).
- ¹⁵Gloria Cumper (1972), p. 10.
- ¹⁶Joseph M. Stycos and K. W. Back, *Control of Human Fertility in Jamaica* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, Inc., 1964).
- ¹⁷Blake, p. 123.
- ¹⁸David Lowenthal, *West Indian Societies* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 111; June Nash (1975).
- ¹⁹Lucille Mathurin (1974), pp. 1-6.

- ²⁰Phillip Mair, *African Societies* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 5-6.
- ²¹Lowenthal, p. 107.
- ²²Nash, p. 7.
- ²³It has been reported that working women in Britain use foster care where they would have contracted the services of relatives in their home country (Francis Henry and Pamela Wilson, 1975, p. 191).
- ²⁴These represent 1970 figures from the *Jamaica Statistical Abstract 1973*, p. 40. In a discussion with an officer in the Ministry of Education in 1974, it was revealed that by that time the registration in the university was approximately 50 percent females and it was expected that it would increase given the reality of the secondary school registration and the no-fee attendance policy (Monica Gordon, 1974).
- ²⁵U.S. INS Annual Reports, 1960-1976.
- ²⁶Starting with Jamaica in 1962, most of the British West Indian Islands have achieved independence from Great Britain and qualify as independent countries, a status which Cuba, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic enjoyed.
- ²⁷R. K. Girling (1974); R. W. Palmer (1972).
- ²⁸Dominguez, pp. 13-14.

- ²⁹For numerical distribution and occupational categories, see Annual reports, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1960-1975; Dominguez, Appendix; Gordon (1979), pp. 228-229.
- ³⁰Frankie Ramidar (1976), p. 10.
- ³¹Gordon (1979), p. 100.
- ³²Andrew Greely (1969), p. 31; Allan Richardson (1967), pp. 9-10.
- ³³Gordon (1979), pp. 110-113.
- ³⁴Eugene Litwak (1969).
- ³⁵Everett Lee (1966), p. 50.
- ³⁶S. N. Eisenstadt (1953), p. 169.
- ³⁷Dominguez, p. 40.
- ³⁸Gordon (1979), p. 144.
- ³⁹Elizabeth Hope-Thomas (1975), p. 7.
- ⁴⁰Subas Ramcharan (1974).

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"GOIN' ABROAD":

WORKING CLASS JAMAICAN WOMEN AND MIGRATION

A. Lynn Bolles

INTRODUCTION

The migration of Jamaican peoples to North America, other parts of the circum-Caribbean region, and Great Britain is not a new phenomenon. The composition of the present wave of Jamaican immigrants to the United States is related to the economic development of the Island over the years, its social history, and then, concomitantly, how persons act individually and collectively according to their social class origins. Yet, to better understand how the current immigration wave pertains to women, we must ask general questions about the sending society. Under what socioeconomic and political conditions have Jamaican women migrated in numbers to the United States? On the individual level, what is involved in the process of deciding to take the steps necessary to go abroad? As a corollary, an inquiry should also be made to review the processes of immigration established by the State Department of the United States and how the Department operates via its offices at the embassy in Kingston.

In recent years one of the more outstanding economic developments for Jamaica has been the growth of industrialization, primarily in manufacturing. The economic conditions we will explore here emanate from the economic viability and employment opportunities for women in the manufacturing sector in the island. Most of these manufacturing concerns are located in Kingston and St. Andrew Corporate Area, hereafter referred to as Kingston or town. Thus, the women under consideration as prospective immigrants to the United States are those employed as production workers in various manufacturing concerns, are members of the working class, and reside in Kingston,¹ the largest urban center in Jamaica.

OVERVIEW

The following discussion of the recent economic development in Jamaica, particularly in the manufacturing sector, will provide a background for understanding the relationship between the position of working class women in the sector and their intended decisions to emigrate to the United States.

Industrial development in Jamaica is a relatively new event. In 1944 Jamaica's constitutional change (adult suffrage and the acknowledged transition to self government) marked a significant opportunity for the country to reorganize its economy, and to democratize its policies.² The industrialization of Jamaica was characteristic of

development plans modeled after "Operation Bootstrap," which had its inception in the 1940s in Puerto Rico. The Textile (Encouragement) Law, passed in 1947, offered incentives to foreign and local capitalists to invest in Jamaican industry. These investments, for the most part, were based on the utilization of cheap local labor and not on the maximization of an industry's potential, nor for reinvestment values. The Jamaican Industrial Development Corporation (JIDC), founded in 1952, was the agency responsible for inviting prospective investors. Incentive packages included tax holidays, lenient tariff regulations, production advice, and industrial parks. Most of the manufacturing concerns in the island were established under the auspices of the JIDC.

A number of the problems which beset the "industrialization by invitation" sector arose because of heavy dependence upon imported raw materials and components. As stated by various authors³ (a) Jamaica has no coal or petroleum as energy sources; (b) the small domestic market was supported by a per capita income too low for the creation of a mass market in manufactured goods; and (c) the initial lack of local popular acceptance of the quality of domestically produced goods impaired success even further. Nevertheless, between 1950 and 1970, Jamaica experienced an exceptionally rapid economic growth of 8 percent, one of the highest national growth rates in the Third World.⁴

Since 1972, some steps have been taken to rectify many of the economic and social blocks which the country

inherited from its colonial past and the first years of independence. However, in 1973 during the worldwide oil "crisis" certain incidents occurred which aggravated an already unstable economy. At that time, world demand dropped for bauxite, Jamaica's highest earner of foreign exchange and the price of sugar, the other major export, also declined. In addition, there was a drastic reduction in the tourist trade. As a result, the country's economic growth virtually came to a halt.

In 1974, the Manley government instituted a policy of Democratic Socialism, based on the concept of a mixed economy which reaffirmed the critical role of the private sector and rewarded it through material incentives. Democratic Socialism had called for the redistribution of wealth and privilege among Jamaicans, and many social programs were created, among them an expanded adult literacy program, free tuition to the university and more health clinics. The Jamaican government also levied a tariff on the export of bauxite, increased the royalties paid to the Government by international bauxite companies, and gained shares in the production process. Nonetheless, in spite of the additional source of revenue for the government, the economy remained unstable. This overall unstable economic position exacerbated by the high cost of petroleum products, was indicated by the decline in growth to a low -6.7 in 1976 and -4.0 in 1977.⁵

The changes in the demands of the international market, especially the high cost of oil and its by-products,

the burden of the deficiencies of the economy as a whole and the high cost of government programs resulted in a balance of payments problem for Jamaica. To make ends meet, the Jamaican government turned ever closer to full scale borrowing to assist both local private enterprise, as well as the operation of government programs. At the end of the 1977-78 fiscal year, 31.8 percent of the national debt was owed to international lending agencies and agencies of foreign governments, such as the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development. Also during that fiscal year, the percentage of debt servicing from the national budget rose from 8.0 to 15.9 percent.⁶ This situation has culminated in the Government of Jamaica accepting the stringent fiscal controls set by the International Monetary Fund in May 1978, in order to receive an additional US\$244 million. The terms negotiated for the three year IMF agreement with Jamaica include a 15 percent devaluation of the Jamaican dollar (from J\$1.00 = US\$1.25 to J\$1.00 = US\$1.87), strict control of the line of credit given by commercial banks, requirements that the Bank of Jamaica maintain a certain level of foreign exchange, frozen wages, and non-consumer price controls.

Some of the problems of the Jamaican economy have been attributed not only to limited natural resources but also, more importantly, to the structural position of Jamaica's dependency upon a broader economic system. As in other Third World countries, the particular nature of economic dependency resulted in a high incidence of

unemployment. The Jamaican Department of Statistics reported that in 1976 the labor force participation rates were 38.1 percent for women and 48.0 percent for men. and, in 1977 the unemployment rate of the entire labor force in Jamaica was 24.2 percent.

The manufacturing sector serves as a prime example of the inequitable position of working class women's participation in an industry which depends on foreign capital and is subject to international price competition. This sector is one of the greatest articulators of capital, and of labor intensive and specialized technology. The underemployment and unemployment as well as the sudden shifts in women's labor force participation in manufacturing is directly tied to the international flow of goods and capital. In the case of Jamaica, these changes in the female employment status in manufacturing is based primarily on its labor intensive operation and the availability of local cheap labor. According to an officer of the JIDC, one of the major reasons for the high numbers of unemployed women in the sector is the removal of garment firms to other areas of the Caribbean where labor costs are minimal, there are no labor unions, or lax labor laws exist.

Again using data from the Department of Statistics to compare female employment in the manufacturing sector during 1960 and 1976, two distinctions become apparent. First, in 1960, women represented 48.9 percent of the sector's employment, and by 1976 that percentage dropped

to 30.0 percent. Second, between 1960 and 1976 the overall employment in that sector increased by 10.7 percent. Therefore, not only were women being displaced from jobs but the bulk of the new ones being created were going to men. In manufacturing, the rate of unemployment in 1976 was 16.9 percent for men, in comparison to 34.5 percent for women. One reason for this disparity may be that the types of industry invited into the Jamaican development program during recent years are not traditional (Jamaican) female factory jobs such as light assembly and garment industries.

THE SAMPLE POPULATION

Given this broad economic framework for working class women in the manufacturing sector in Jamaica, the next task is to ask how emigration serves as an alternative employment strategy. The following discussion is based on a series of interviews carried out over a six-month period among trade union organized, working class women employed in various manufacturing concerns in Kingston.

When conducting urban anthropological research, the various research methods utilized are often as complex as the city and society themselves. How does one contact a set of women, employed in factory jobs, in a city with a population of nearly a million persons? How does one then establish a relationship with these workers,

in order for "talks" to begin? This problem was first approached by contacting trade unions, and with their help, women were located and met, and talks took place at their places of work. Only after an initial meeting and if a mutual trust was confirmed, did some women extend invitations to visit them at their "yards." Two hundred women were interviewed in their places of work. (Visiting workers at their homes is presently still in progress for additional in-depth research.) However, for our purposes here, a sample of fifty represents just those women who were *actively seeking* to immigrate to the United States. In this case, actively seeking means that these women (a) had made contacts in the United States for jobs and housing with relatives, (b) are saving money in earnest for travel as well as to support family members left behind in Kingston, and (c) have acquired some of the documents needed for immigration.

The types of industries in which these women are employed include food and paper processing, and printing. These concerns are owned and operated by joint ventures (local and foreign capital), local private enterprise, the government of Jamaica or multinational corporations. The weekly earnings of these working class women vary from J\$48 to J\$100 with an average per worker of J\$71.⁷ All of these women have at least a primary school education; five have attended junior secondary schools, five have attended commercial schools, one graduated from high school, and one has graduated from JAMAL (the adult literacy program).

In terms of age and the numbers of years working in factories, these working class women are particularly representative of the female labor force in manufacturing, given the infancy of the sector itself. The sample varies in age from twenty-two years to fifty years of age, with the bulk of the sample being twenty-seven years old. They have worked in their present jobs for an average of six years, with many working in the same factory for over ten years. When asked how long they have worked in a particular place, many respond, "Me came when dey was first tek on workers." For forty three of the sample, their present job was their first in manufacturing and their first steady job. The kinds of jobs held by those who previously had steady employment include domestic service, catering, garment manufacturing, electronic, food processing factories, and the postal service. Unsteady work for the rest of the sample included higglering, baby sitting, and casual factory work.⁸

As far as family responsibilities are concerned, (which is of major importance to the question of whether or not to migrate) forty-two of the sample are heads of their households. Of the remaining eight, six are married, and the rest have permanent partners at home.⁹ This does not include the financial and emotional support most receive from kin who live nearby, especially brothers. Twelve of the fifty households in the sample have at least one brother as a member of the household. All of these brothers contribute financially to the house if working,

give advice to their sisters and have authority in the house, especially if they are older.¹⁰ Three children per household is the average number, but again this varies with the age of the mother and marital status. The women who have more than five children are three married women and one woman with a permanent partner at home. For the women who are wives, the bulk of the children were born after their marriage, or setting up a permanent union. Most of the children of these women are under ten years of age, which relates to the ages of their mothers. Only three households have children living permanently in the "country"¹¹ with grandmothers. For a few of the older women in the sample, several of their older children were raised in the country by their grandmothers, and were brought back to town when their mothers could provide for them, or when they were of an age to attend high school in town. During the six-month period of these interviews, six children belonging to four households were sent to the country for an extended visit, but have now returned to Kingston. These children were all under five years of age.

THE IMMIGRATION PROCESS

Using the preceding data as a general background of these working class women who are prospective immigrants, let us now turn to some of the processes which aid their decision to immigrate to the United States. First, and above all, there is a joke which states that

every Jamaican has at least one relative in Brooklyn. This occurrence, for this sample is more than true. Therefore, the exposure these women have to "what it like in America" comes not only from what they see on television or read in newspapers or magazines, but also from the first-hand accounts of relatives either abroad or who have returned. There is a hierarchy of topics which concerns a prospective life in the United States: jobs, consumer items, relatives back home and in the 'States, and the cold weather.

Most of the younger women in the sample are not concerned with what kind of job they would find in the United States, or what it would pay, but just to get one. It is a concensus of opinion that any job in the United States would have to be better in terms of working conditions and wages than what they now have. "Me tek any job in America," one woman replied. Stories from relatives and friends which tell how easy it was for them to get a job in America reinforces the idea that "any little t'ing" is available on the U.S. job market for them. They know too that their labor would be more exploited than native American workers because of their immigrant status (especially if illegal), but they see this situation as temporary. The primary objectives in migration for these women is to work hard, save money and then if any is left over, to buy things, have a good time and to return to Jamaica, better off than when they left.

Because of the restriction on imports and the

resultant higher prices on goods due to the present fiscal crisis, the desire for goods is a major concern. Usually in conversation someone always asks me about the price and availability of certain items, often clothing, shoes for adults and children, household items and food. Children's clothing is very expensive, especially in light of how quickly they are either worn out or outgrown.

Because these women have worked very hard most of their lives, they feel cheated now that they are in a position to buy, the cost of items again has been raised beyond their reach. In the United States "t'ings cheap, cheap," so there is hope that these things which they desire and deserve could be acquired.

Gleaned from various conversations with these women, the situations of kin and friends abroad merit different attitudinal responses such as (1) pride and contact with those abroad, (2) disgust and a sense of abandonment, and (3) setting a new example. Of course, the first point mentioned, pride and contact with kin and friends abroad is the most talked about circumstance. One older woman's daughter left for England twelve years ago. The daughter has a steady factory job, is married with three children and periodically sends money and gifts home, although she herself has never returned. Before the daughter migrated to England, she gave birth to a baby girl, whom she left with her mother. This woman now supports this granddaughter who attends a well known high school. She would like to join her daughter

in London when the granddaughter leaves school.

Another source of pride occurs when a relative visits home. One woman's sisters come home to Jamaica every year to see the extended family and stay with the sister. These visiting relatives come laden with gifts for the family as an added point of pride and accomplishment of their lives abroad.

Several of the women have boyfriends abroad. In one case the boyfriend, an illegal alien in the United States, has systematically sent clothing, shoes and money for this worker's upkeep and that of their daughter, since he left three years ago. Recently, he sent photographs of himself standing next to his car, which was shown by the worker to all her fellow employees at the food processing plant. The worker wants to join him but has had a hard time accumulating the necessary funds, but as she says optimistically: "Maybe me get up dere fore h'im get bak h'ere."

The second point of kin relations abroad is the most painful to be related, and is often done reluctantly. At least twenty-two of the sample expressed regrets about losing contact with lost sisters and brothers who went abroad and have never been heard from since their departure or a letter, sent long ago.

"Me sista she went abroad. We used to write, but nuh more, she just stopped. She tink me want somet'ing fra her. Me want to know she alright, yuh nuh see it?"

Another note of displeasure over changes in kin-

related attitudes once a relative goes abroad was voiced by a young woman worker at a chicken processing plant. She said that her aunt (MoSis) had gone abroad, and even though she wrote to her mother(Sis) she made it all too clear that she would not help any of the nieces to immigrate. The young woman complained that her mother had helped her sister to migrate years before, and she had now turned her back on the family.

"Me, nuh sah, me we help others when me go abroad. Me getta work, a place fe stay. Me wouldn't gwan like that one dere."

An additional note of discord was presented by a middle aged woman who works in a canning factory concerning the bad image many Jamaicans abroad were making in the minds of American society, especially young Rastas and their involvement with drugs and just those who "cuss" Jamaica. She said that the reason she wanted to go abroad was to earn money, not because she did not love Jamaica.

"Jamaica is me home. But, me just can't gwan too good h'ere nuh more, but is home. Nuh odder place fe me on this earth but h'ere."

In terms of young Rastafarians and drugs, she thought they should leave those bad habits alone when they went abroad. She had heard from relatives in Brooklyn about drug trafficking and raids involving young Jamaicans in New York who were members of the Rastafari Brethren, and that the image made it uncomfortable for all Jamaican in the United States.

When asked about their general impressions of life in the United States for black people, the responses of

these female workers reflected an ethnic attitude. For them, black people in the United States referred to native-born black Americans, and they would not necessarily be included in that category. One day at lunch a group of workers spent a great deal of time asking me about the welfare system. A few nights previously the television station had featured the movie "Claudia," starring Diahnn Carroll and James Earl Jones. This movie depicted the life of frustration of being poor, black, and female heading a household on welfare in an urban setting. The women agreed with one another that it was terrible to be dependent upon state charity, but they understood how difficult it was to maintain a family with one person working. One woman asked

"But where h'ar modder, where h'ar family to help she out? In America, nobody help each oder. Yu tak care of yu own, it dread like that."

After explaining to them generally about the state income maintenance system, I asked if they ever thought it would be a good idea for Jamaica to have a welfare system? In unison the reply was

"Nuh! Jus work to help yu own, maybe to help yu in the beginning to get your own foot, but then work."

The idea of going on welfare while in the United States seemed ludicrous to them because one could always get a job doing "somet'ing." On the other hand, black Americans, they said, could and should turn down jobs that do not pay well because it is their country and they

have to live there all of their lives. As Jamaicans, they perceive that during their own sojourns in the United States the need for such discrimination in job types and wages would not be warranted. It is evident, as far as they were concerned, that the United States offered them a chance to make more money in a shorter period of time than at home but, most importantly, immigration afforded an opportunity to save money for needed items.

When a prospective migrant takes these dreams and plans and tries to articulate them into a reality it is not fear of the unknown or trepidation about cold weather or even possible problems of adjustment which loom as major obstacles; rather it is the all too well known U.S. embassy in Kingston. It is one of the busiest consulates in the Americas, after those in Mexico and the Dominican Republic. Lines form outside at the rear of the building, so people can get a number, and be seen by consulate officers. As people receive a number they file downstairs and wait for it to be called. The old building did not have facilities to accommodate large numbers of people and many Jamaicans can tell stories of what it was like camped outside of the embassy overnight, so as to be served the next day. Now, the waiting room is air conditioned but the waiting is still tedious. One morning at 6:30 a.m. I watched the line grow to begin the filing in process. Most of those in line were women clutching their documents, many on their second or third trip, hoping that this time the documents would be cleared, and

their applications processed. On various days the Visitors Visa lines are longer than the Immigrant Visa lines. But all of the lines are long. A senior officer told me that there were more junior officers in Jamaica than elsewhere in the hemisphere because it is a "boot camp," a training ground. He said,

"You see everything in here, every angle, except forgery. Jamaicans aren't in the twentieth century when it comes to forgery, the copies are so amateurish, the Dominicans are best at that."

There are two general categories of immigrants according to the Immigration and Nationality Act; those without restriction -- certain relatives of United States citizens and those who are restricted by an annual number of persons who may enter according to preference. The unrestricted category includes the immediate familial relations; spouses, unmarried children under twenty-one or parents of citizens over twenty-one years of age. Other sub-categories included are returning permanent residents; ministers of religious denominations whose services are needed (including their spouses and children); and specifically qualified and recommended employees and former employees of the United States Government.¹²

The second category of restricted persons fulfills the numerical quota of twenty thousand per year from an independent country, and the eight sub-categories of groups called preferences. The preferences are ranked, ranging from familial relations of citizens (1) unmarried sons and daughters of United States citizens and

(2) children of permanent residents. The third preference is given to the professions and persons in the arts and sciences whose services are required by a United States employer. The fourth and fifth preferences are bestowed to extended familial relations of citizens; married children and sisters and brothers of citizens over twenty-one years of age. Ranking sixth, and often one of the most important categories, is the preference assigned to skilled and unskilled workers designated by the Labor Department to be in short supply in the United States. The seventh preference concerns those who qualify as refugees by the Department of Justice. And, finally, all other immigrants without preference take up the remains of the quota allotment of twenty thousand.

Needless to say, to fill out the forms, questionnaires, interviews, and documents necessary for the procedure (often taking a few visits) is a time-consuming task, especially if one is working full time in a factory and responsible for a family. Moreover, the amount of money required to file a visa application is half the average weekly salary of the women represented in this sample.

There are thirty-two ineligibility categories of persons seeking to immigrate, many with subclauses. However, the most important criterion utilized in terms of working class Jamaican women is whether or not they have proof of financial stability in Jamaica and verification of adequate economic support in the United States.

This procedure is to indicate if they would become a public charge while in the United States. Consulate officers use the New York City income maintenance levels as a guideline, as most prospective immigrants designate their destination to be in that area. From one point, this measure is considerate, as a semi-guarantee that migrants would have adequate funds while settling in the United States. However, from another perspective, the use of the highest State income maintenance level (approximately US\$5,000 for a family of four) places severe impediments in the way of those seeking to migrate as well as to those who are trying to be a sponsor, especially if both parties are women. For example, a working class woman, a former garment worker, seeks to migrate as a fifth preference -- a sister of a U.S. citizen. Her skill as a sewing machine operator is considered unskilled and not in short supply in the United States. Her sister, who has a family of three children also works in the garment industry in Manhattan and earns about \$6,000 per year. The sister would be judged ineligible to sponsor an immigrant because of inadequate income. The sister in New York can try to find her relative a job, which she does by obtaining an "Offer of Employment to Alien" form. Prospective employers are asked on this form to state the intended salary, numbers of persons employed, the type of job and so forth. It is not a commitment of a position. This document is enclosed in the immigrant visa file of the sister in Jamaica. In small print on

the bottom of the form is a warning stating that any false information is considered a felony and punishable by a \$10,000 fine, five years imprisonment or both. If the garment factory owner, who employs the sister in New York is a small operator, perhaps not sympathetic, why should he be subject himself to possible federal intervention, just to employ another immigrant worker? Or, if he does fill out the form, he is liable to investigation as to existence of his firm and his financial viability. According to a consulate officer, checking on these employers extends from a listing in the telephone book to Internal Revenue Service files. Even though Jamaicans in the United States, in particular women, are only minutely represented on the welfare roles (especially in comparison to nationals from other Caribbean countries) the criterion of a possible public charge remains.¹³

This consideration of possible public charge is further complicated by cross cultural misunderstanding between prospective working class Jamaican women and consulate officers. For those officers not familiar with the structure and function of Jamaican or even African-American family dynamics, the idea of a mother migrating and leaving her children behind might appear to be a case of family abandonment. But, the physical needs of children in Jamaican working class families are shared by a number of persons; some kin and some not related by

family kin ties. Mothers have multiple roles with their children at different periods of time as primary caretaker and/or financial supporter. Therefore, as a mother reciprocates their services and resources with members of her extended family (and perhaps friends) in terms of child care, household duties, etc., she knows her children's physical and emotional needs will be met. She has been sharing those things with other mothers. So, while the mother attempts to gain greater financial stability through migration, the child or children are taken care of because of this exchange system. Moreover, the exchange network as a whole might gain as the migrant will include it in the category of those who receive the fruits of this "goin' abroad buzniss." The idea of emigration for working class women is not their relinquishing family responsibilities, but extending them. When this situation does not occur, we have the sense of abandonment which one of the respondents referred to in the case of her aunt.

Emigration for working class Jamaicans has become a part of their cultural mechanisms. Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, Jamaicans have gone abroad in search of work because the social and economic conditions in the island made employment either nonexistent or scarce. The "goin' abroad" syndrome has become a part of the Jamaican cultural heritage which also cuts across class lines. In a recent article about Jamaicans emigrating to Colon, Panama, in the 1880s, the author states that

While the total impact of the migration experience cannot be determined, we do know that the movement was large enough to have influenced, for the good or ill, many aspects of Jamaican life. Certainly the collective knowledge derived from the experience undoubtedly gave the Jamaican people greater confidence with which to seize further migration experiences.¹⁴

The confidence which Senior speaks of is the groundwork which justifies one's leaving home and family and going abroad during any time period, 1879 or 1979. One goes abroad so that those at home receive the fruits of that decision in cash, kind, and experience. Women leave their children entrusted to relatives or in the care of close friends. One recent Ph.D. in psychology told me how at one time he could not fully understand how his mother could have left him with his "Tante" in Kingston and gone to New York to work in the garment industry in the late 1950s. He said that she sent him money every month but he did not see her until he arrived in New York to enter college almost ten years later. Until very recently he did not fully grasp the suffering and sadness that surrounded this personal sacrifice of his mother so that her son could live, go on to school and eventually attain the success she had dreamed of for him.

CONCLUSION

What remains with us is a continuing socioeconomic

situation in Jamaica which fosters emigration. This is due to the path of development the country has taken over many years which has been proven to be inadequate in the long run for the social progress of the majority of Jamaicans. Currently, the conditions in the island have been made worse for the working class by the soaring cost of living, high unemployment and a lack of employment opportunities. Needless to say, the entire population is affected by those economic attributes. This situation is also exacerbated by a very visible disparity among Jamaicans in terms of lifestyles, as the gap between social classes widens.

It is interesting to note that as women swell the unemployment ranks in Jamaica, they also represent 58 percent of the immigrants to the United States for the period 1962 to 1976.¹⁵ This percentage of women constitutes a personnel change over all previous immigration waves to either England or to the United States. Of additional importance is that most of the women who do immigrate are non-skilled workers, whether or not they migrate under that preference category. The job opportunities available to working class women in Jamaica are rapidly shrinking, especially in manufacturing. The problem lies in the fact that manufacturing is a potentially great employer of women in traditional and non-traditional job types.

Emigration is a short term answer to deeply embedded social and economic problems which out-migration

cannot solve. Emigration is a collective personal decision to combat what the wider society cannot correct on a day-to-day basis. And, as migration continuously arises as an answer to economic problems, individually it is evident that the country has not been able to correct these social ills on a long term basis, either. Additionally, the increased hardships which have come about with the government's acceptance of the IMF fiscal policies, such as frozen wages and a soaring cost of living, could influence more Jamaicans, and women in particular to migrate through legal and illegal channels.

NOTES

¹The data utilized in this paper were collected from July 1978 to January 1979. This research is part of a forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation in Anthropology on the impact of working class women's industrial employment on marital status and the family.

²See Trevor Munroe, *The Politics of Constitutional Decolonization: Jamaica 1944-62*. (Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1972.)

³See, for example, Norman Girvan, *Foreign Capital and Economic Underdevelopment in Jamaica*. (Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1971) and Owen Jefferson, *The Post-War Economic Development of Jamaica*. (Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1972.)

⁴Owen Jefferson, *ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵Jamaica National Planning Agency, *Social and Economic Survey, Jamaica 1977*. Kingston, 1978, p. 21.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁷The Government of Jamaica established a minimum weekly wage of J\$20 for a forty hour week in 1975. Women in

this sample^{*} represent those who are comparatively better paid for non-skilled labor. In 1976, over half of the female work force earned less than J\$50 per week.

⁸ Many of the women who held steady jobs before their present job resorted to unsteady casual labor during their unemployment period.

⁹ It is important to note that the marital status of young working class women, especially those who head households, or in visiting unions are perhaps not in life long situations. Marriage and more permanent households often come after a period of economic sharing and co-residence.

¹⁰ The participation of brothers in their sisters' households further demonstrates the sharing of resources and authority among family members, and that it is not confined to female members. Brothers might also have girlfriends whom they visit, but they might see their first responsibility to their sister.

¹¹ One of the most crucial aspects of West Indian and Afro-American family structures is the sharing of resources, especially services involving child care. Children are sent to live with others for various lengths of time, so that in the long run their needs, social and financial, are met as best as possible from a range of persons. One person cannot fulfill the role, so a host of people

fulfill those services, with services reciprocated.

(For a good description of this cycle see Carol B. Stack, *All Our Kin*, 1972, Colophon Books).

¹²United States, Department of State *General Information for Applicants for Immigrant Visas (Form 168)*. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

¹³Interview, Senior Consulate Officer, United States Embassy, Kingston, Jamaica.

¹⁴Olive Senior. "The Colon Experience, Part Two." *Jamaica Journal*, no. 42 (September 1978) p. 100.

¹⁵United States Immigration and Naturalization Service. *Annual Report*, Table 8. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962-1976.

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MIGRATION AND SEX ROLES: A COMPARISON OF
BLACK AND INDIAN TRINIDADIAN IN NEW YORK CITY*

Judith Burgess and Meryl James-Gray

INTRODUCTION

Migration has been an intrinsic characteristic of Caribbean societies.¹ In fact, the migration patterns of the Black and Indian populations of these societies can be traced to the involuntary transportation of Africans as slave labor and East Indians as indentured servants to the "West Indian" colonies established by Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is no coincidence that the search for a better life that followed emancipation from slavery and indentured servitude gave rise to new patterns of migration. In their desire to have something of their own, many Blacks migrated inter- and intraregionally in search of rewarding occupations; similarly, a number of Indians emigrated to India in the hope of re-establishing themselves only to return later to the Caribbean.²

*This paper draws upon our research first reported under the same title at the 1977 joint national meeting of the African Studies Association, Houston, Texas. The work was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Health Bio-Medical Research to Dr. Constance Sutton, New York University, New York City.

The migration of Caribbean people, in large numbers to the industrial centers of Europe and America, is the most recent in the migration trend. Bryce-Laporte argues that Caribbean migration is another aspect of a larger movement of the world's population, overwhelmingly characterized by a flow from "less developed or peripheral countries to more developed or metropolitan centers."³ The very real legacy of debilitating colonial economies when juxtaposed with the image of prosperity depicted by the industrial centers of Europe and America has made the latter a more popular choice for Caribbean peoples in search of a "better" life. The present study was undertaken in 1977 among Black and Indian Trinidadians with the intention of looking at the choices made by female and male migrants, and exploring the ways in which they define their experiences in the new socio-cultural milieu of New York City.

The literature on migration has focused more attention on the causes and consequences of the overall movement of peoples than on the actors themselves. In addition, no attempt has been made to understand the factors which influence the perceptions of the immigrants or the role these perceptions play in the migration process; especially how these might differ for the sexes.⁴ It is not only necessary to ask in what ways and to what extent migration has different consequences for women and men, but it is also important to know the ways in which women and men interpret their respective situations. It

is equally important to examine the migrants' prior conceptions of family and sex roles as these influence the ways women and men respond to new economic and social conditions.

It is especially pertinent to focus on the above issues, in the context of the "new immigration" from the Caribbean and Latin America, since one of the features of this migration is that women overwhelmingly outnumber men.⁵ Cohen points out that "whereas typically the men have been pioneers of immigration in the past, today approximately two-thirds of Caribbean and South American newcomers are women."⁶ Thus, the "new immigration" is female-initiated, involves women who have high rates of participation in the labor markets of the host society and it, in contrast to past migrations, often involves women who leave established households and children behind.

Trinidadian Blacks and Indians truly qualify as "new" immigrants to the United States, having joined the stream only recently. Prior to 1960, Trinidad and Tobago received more people from abroad than were lost to other lands. But beginning in 1960, this situation began to reverse itself such that between 1960 and 1970 gross emigration from these islands was estimated to have been between 60,000 and 140,000.⁷ Between 1967 and 1973 42,391 Trinidadians were recorded as having emigrated to the U.S.⁸ These figures represent approximately 10 percent of the more than one million people, who comprised Trinidad and Tobago's population in 1974.

It is notable that females comprised 65 percent of this emigration and that women of child-bearing age (15-55) comprised 83 percent of the female migrants. It is also worth noting that 83 percent of the immigrants were of working age and that 70 percent of these were female.⁹

Undertaking research among Trinidadian immigrants not only means working within a new immigrant community, it also offers the opportunity to compare the migration experiences of two major ethnic groups in Trinidadian society: Blacks and Indians. Both groups have been heavily involved in the recent migratory wave although it is thought that the rate of emigration is somewhat higher for Blacks* than for Indians.¹⁰ The similarities and differences of these two groups make a comparison of their migration experiences particularly significant. While they share common experiences in Trinidad as well as in New York they possess distinct ethnic traditions which include different cultural definitions of appropriate male and female roles.

Methodology

The findings presented here are the outgrowth of a study undertaken in 1977 about Trinidadian men and women living in New York City. Because the research already done in this area is limited, and in order to lay a

*"Black" Trinidadian is not a color distinction since both groups consist of people with brown to dark brown skin. As used in this paper the term is used as a proper noun referring to Trinidadians of African descent.

foundation for future studies, we employed exploratory methods of investigation for this work.

The research techniques utilized for this exploration included both formal and informal interviews, and participant observation. We had to depend upon our own membership in the Caribbean community as we set about identifying Trinidadians since there is no record of the exact number and location of this group in the City. Thus our links with the community enabled us to make contacts with and gain the assistance of the Black and Indian Trinidadians represented in this work. In most cases we interviewed couples and other individuals who were part of the social network of someone we had already interviewed.

We formally interviewed twenty-eight adult men and women who became our core sample of the Black and Indian populations within New York City. Their adjustment experiences was a critical element of the study. Consequently we sought to interview those Trinidadians who had lived in the City for at least five years. We conducted these interviews using a schedule that contained eighty-six questions. Our questions were constructed to elicit information about the pre-and post migration statuses, activities and experiences of the immigrants, as well as about their perceptions of appropriate and changing male and female roles.

Informal interviews were conducted and participant observations were made during social events and gatherings.

These events included the annual Labor Day Carnival activities in Brooklyn, the Trinidad Independence Day celebrations, and meetings of Trinidad voluntary and professional organizations. Prior to executing field work in New York a member of the research team visited Trinidad to obtain statistical data and other documented information on the Black and Indian populations.

BLACKS AND INDIANS IN TRINIDAD

The Two Traditions

At this point, it is necessary to review the position of the two ethnic groups within the Trinidadian society and to summarize how male and female roles are defined within the respective ethnic traditions.

Both Blacks and Indians began their lives in colonial Trinidad at a very low socioeconomic level. The Blacks had been brought as slaves to cultivate the sugar cane plantations and were at the bottom of the social structure. Therefore, following emancipation, seeking to divest themselves of all things associated with that painful past, Blacks sought out nonmanual urban oriented occupations. The Indians arrived much later (1845-1917) to fill the labor gap and work on the sugar cane plantation. However, the Indians came to be viewed as a separate and marginal group¹¹ because of their adherence to cultural traditions and their initial determination to return to India after a period of indentureship. Although

many of these continued to work on the plantations for wages after their indentureship, they aspired to own and cultivate land as well as to own businesses.

When Trinidad became independent in 1962, its Black and Indian populations had their first chance to participate in the formation of a new national system that stressed universalistic values and recognition through achievement. Since that time, these Trinidadians have come closer together in their economic roles, occupational aspirations and levels of educational attainment.¹² However, the apparent differences in their cultural traditions still appear to have a discernible impact on family and sex roles.

The general consensus among Caribbean scholars¹³ is that Indians place greater emphasis on early marriage, male authority in the household and the responsibility of the biological parents for their children, while Blacks put greater emphasis on consanguineal family ties over conjugal ties and accept a wider range of domestic and marital arrangements that include sharing the responsibility for children with a social network of family and friends.

Traditionally, Indians tend to marry early and this is reflected in their higher fertility rates.¹⁴ Often these marriages are pre-arranged by the male relatives and the young wife is expected to move into the household of her husband and assume the bulk of the domestic chores of that household.¹⁵ The patriarchal families of the

Indians provide security and form the core of their social life. Work activities of the Indian women tend to be confined to home and family-based enterprises under the control of their husbands with their earnings generally considered as only supplemental to family needs.

Blacks, on the other hand, have been described as less concerned with contracting legal marriages.¹⁶ Family and the security it implies refer more to extended, open kin networks which are in principle bilateral but in practice are thought to be matrilateral. Marriage among Blacks has often been contracted for the prestige or "respectability" it confers, and it signifies the economic ability of the couple to afford a wedding and the life style associated with marriage.¹⁷ Although Black men are expected to be the main economic providers Black women have traditionally worked and maintained separate economic resources.

These traditions weigh heavily in the determination of sex roles and the structure of the family. However, the potential opportunities for mobility, which can be realised in part by formal education have laid a foundation for new codes of behavior. And, these new behavioral codes have had an impact on the manner in which marriage is perceived. For example, a study of the aspirations of senior high school students in Trinidad, Rubin and Zavalloni¹⁸ found that marriage is "a corollary to mobility" among the upwardly mobile Trinidadian Blacks as well as Indians. Thus, as a validation of a "middle class

status" marriage has taken on a new meaning for members of both groups. It was against this cultural and historical background that the sample population we interviewed in New York was measured.

BACKGROUND OF POPULATION INTERVIEWED IN NEW YORK CITY

The sample population consisted of twenty-eight Trinidadians (evenly divided between Blacks and Indians) who had been residing in New York for an average of ten years. The group was further broken down by sex -- seven Blacks and seven Indians in both sexes. The median age of the group was 39; the youngest being 22, and the oldest, 59.

In many ways, the characteristics of our sample population reflect the cultural traditions of and trends towards change for both groups. Black and Indian Trinidadians in our sample began migrating in the 1960s for the purpose of seeking educational or occupational opportunities. Thirteen of those interviewed were originally from rural areas of Trinidad. But, prior to migrating, twenty-three of the twenty-eight interviewed either received education, worked or resided in one or more of the urban centers of Trinidad.

In contrast to the Indians, the Blacks were generally from urban homes. Eleven of the fourteen Blacks came from Port-of-Spain and San Fernando, the two major cities in Trinidad. The families they came from were

relatively smaller, having an average of four children. The fathers of the Black migrants were engaged in a wider range of occupations than those of the Indian and were less involved in entrepreneurial or independent farming activities. Nine of the fourteen Black mothers were wage workers, five of whom provided the main economic support for their families. Only five of the Black mothers were housewives as compared to ten of the Indian mothers.

It is clear, then, that the family background of the sample population reflects certain well-known differences between Blacks and Indians with respect to the organization of male and female roles within the family, and with respect to occupations associated with Blacks and Indians in Trinidad. It also underscores the fact that Indian women are under more supervision by their husbands and tend to be less engaged in independent, income-producing activities than are Black women.

Educational and Occupational Background: The Women

Most of the women interviewed regarded their educational and occupational achievements as self-motivated since, in their view, their parents could not afford to support their daughters' education beyond elementary school. The one woman who claimed that her educational success was nurtured by a supportive mother recalled that it was not without the constant warning: " . . . school, boys and education do not mix." There was little significant difference between the educational levels of the

Black and the Indian women we interviewed. The educational levels of the Indian women ranged from fourth standard¹⁹ to high school. Some of them, particularly those who left school in the lower grades, supplemented their education with sewing and secretarial courses. Occupationally, the female Indian immigrants, like their mothers, tended to have less of an employment history outside the home than did the Black women. In fact, only four of the seven Indian women had worked outside the home as nurses, waitresses and factory workers.

However, among the Black female immigrants the reverse situation held true. Except for one individual, all the Black women were employed before migration. Four of the Black women had some nursing education in Trinidad. This strong attraction to nursing as a career reflects the middle-class aspirations of the women in this segment of our sample.

The Men

Like those of the women, the pre-migration experiences of the men showed a significant advancement over the occupational and educational levels of their parents. The educational levels of these men ranged from seventh standard to high school level. However, more men than women had completed their high school education in Trinidad (11 out of 14 men as compared to 6 out of the 14 women).

Occupationally, the men (Black and Indian) differed

from their fathers; they had shifted from agriculturally related occupations to white collar positions. Their occupations centered around the civil service, teaching trades, entrepreneurship and private industry. None of these men had been professionals in Trinidad. However, the highest ranking persons among them had attained middle to top-level civil service positions in Trinidad.

The economic positions our male interviewees had attained in Trinidad was consistently higher in status and income than those of the women interviewed. Involvement in entrepreneurship was particularly higher for men than for women, and notably higher for Indians than for Blacks. This indicates that Trinidadian Indians are still more oriented towards establishing independent businesses, while Trinidadian Blacks are more concerned with seeking security and achieving social status through holding a white collar job.

The sample population suggests that Trinidadian immigrants do not necessarily come from the ranks of the unemployed and the most impoverished sectors of their society, but can be highly motivated individuals with relatively high achievements; they migrated in response to what they judged as extremely limited opportunities for mobility in Trinidad, as compared to the opportunities that they believed existed in the United States.

THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

Decision to Migrate

In all the cases we examined,* we found that the decision to migrate was motivated either by the desire to improve income or to receive education or specialized training so as to improve the wage earning power of the individual concerned. However, before taking such a step, the potential immigrant often has to evaluate his/her potential opportunities for success in the host society.

The majority of the Blacks and Indians we interviewed (19 out of 28) were preceded by and received by women: mothers, aunts, wives and friends. Thus, for some of the men the decision to migrate was contingent upon females who had initiated the chain of migration. These female relatives have assisted the new immigrants in locating accommodations, finding jobs, and in exploring educational opportunities for their children.

Female initiation of the migration process also appeared to have been induced by the demands in the host society for specific categories of workers, in jobs that are traditionally female intensive: domestics, secretaries, and nurses, just to name a few. According to the United States immigration office in Trinidad, which we visited

*Due to the exploratory nature of our study and the small size of the population we formally interviewed, these findings must be regarded as preliminary.

in 1977, many Trinidadian women were able to migrate under approved labor migration categories during the 1960s. A number of these women arrived here with no pre-determined social contacts outside their new place of work.

Thus the workplace provided an arena for migrants to interact with members of the host society. In this manner the female immigrants often served as the liaison between friends and relatives in Trinidad and acquaintances and potential employers in New York. In fact, these links have perpetuated a process of chain migration -- i.e., a continuous flow of migrants from Trinidad to New York.

Occupational and Educational Attainments

Although there were a few cases of initial downward mobility, migration was used as a strategy to achieve a goal which, when reached, often represented a higher socioeconomic level than the individual had attained in the home country. However, this pattern of upward mobility seems to be much more prevalent among the Blacks. Among the Indians there seemed to be much less concern about gaining prestige; downward mobility was considered valid if it meant augmented earnings.

Eleven of the 28 immigrants we interviewed moved from white collar jobs in Trinidad to white collar jobs in New York, while 6 of the 28 moved from blue collar jobs in Trinidad to white collar jobs. Of the remainder, 5 held blue collar jobs in Trinidad and in New York but

with increased earnings. Six of the immigrants had never been employed in Trinidad, but were able to find secure jobs in New York.

Of the 14 women we interviewed only 6 had completed their high school education before emigrating. Nine of these have augmented their formal education, mostly in health fields, since their arrival in the United States; the remaining 5 expressed their intention to pursue a higher formal education in the immediate future.

We found that the Trinidadian Blacks placed a greater emphasis on education for themselves as well as for their children. The Trinidadian Indians, on the other hand, concentrated more of their efforts on seeking employment opportunities and on expanding their economic power; however, they too stressed the importance of higher education for their children. In response to questions about job satisfaction, a substantial majority of the Indians stated that money was their key satisfaction. In contrast, the Blacks stated that the desire for monetary satisfaction should not preclude the need for self-pride in the importance of personal achievement, professional challenge and one's ability to offer good service on the job.

The pattern of socio-economic mobility of these Blacks and Indians is clearly defined by their Trinidadian experience. The roles they assume in the occupational and educational spheres of their new location reflect aspirations fostered in Trinidad. However, it is worth

noting that most of the women tend to continue in traditional female occupations. Even those women who have advanced their education have, for the most part, chosen to advance within the same traditional female-intensive occupations. Thus, those who were nurses in Trinidad became nurse administrators, while domestics became nurses' aides in New York.

Social Contacts

Most of the Trinidadians we interviewed established friendships with African-Americans (meaning by this United States born Blacks of presumably direct African ancestry.) But, as non-Americans they lauded their own cultural heritage and Trinidadian identity. Their Trinidadian background, certainly, has nurtured in them a positive sense of self and has sustained them in their encounters with racism in America.

Many of the Black Trinidadians expressed deep concern over their inability to vote in the United States or in Trinidad and Tobago elections. They realized that they would have to be citizens in order to make some impact on the American political system. However, only 2 out of the 14 in our sample had actually become American citizens.

Having been confronted with racial discrimination in New York, a majority of the Black Trinidadians in our sample indicated that they had become suspicious of the sincerity of White Americans, and hence had established only "acquaintances" rather than "friendships" with them.

On the contrary, Indian Trinidadians had formed some closer alliances with White Americans, although they manifested a distinct preference for friendships with other Trinidadians or Caribbeans, Indian or Black.

Among the Indians there seemed to be a much greater sense of being Trinidadian than being Indian. Black Trinidadians agree with this perception of the Indian here, and both groups see inter-personal relationships among Trinidadians "as good as" if not "much better than" in Trinidad. This sense of Trinidadian "togetherness" has become the basis for a new identity which crosses the social and cultural boundaries that exist for Blacks and Indians in their country of origin.

Evaluations of the Immigrant Experience

Most of the immigrants felt that their lives had improved in New York. A number of factors influenced these perceptions. The women expressed the view that they had greater "independence" not only because they have more money of their own, but also because it is possible to purchase a greater variety of consumer goods and to invest in the advancement of their own education.

SEX ROLES, MOBILITY AND THE IMMIGRANT FAMILY

As already noted, Trinidadian immigrants appear to be unified in their pursuit of economic and educational advancement. And, in comparison with their pre-migration

socioeconomic status in Trinidad, they have experienced some degree of upward mobility in New York. It is interesting, however, to find that both the men and the women perceive that women have experienced greater improvements in their lives.

A review of the literature on migration and sex roles shows that a women's increased participation in non-domestic activities can positively as well as negatively affect her position in the family. In a study of Cuban immigrants in the United States, Dominguez²⁰ noted a decline in the prestige of the women as "guardians and keepers" of the home because of their post-migration employment outside the home. Bloch²¹ reported a similar decline in the position of Polish immigrant women in their households because of increased participation in wage work outside the home. But, in a study of Jamaican immigrants in London, Foner²² indicated that for the female immigrants more regular wage work has had a positive effect upon marital relationships.

Because of increased opportunities for work and career advancement, time spent on household management can be seen as competing with time that could be spent making money. Since in a majority of cases both men and women work, it becomes incumbent upon the men to help in the immigrant household.

All of the Black women we interviewed felt their male counterparts had adjusted well to the new circumstances. One of the women commented that:

In order to have a family life here, he realizes he has to participate not only in the housework, but in the childrearing too. It's no longer the type of thing where he comes home and the maid is there, having prepared the dinner . . . Here, if you're going to have a household, he has to participate. He has to pick up the children, or take them to the babysitter, or come home and begin the dinner. He has to participate much more in the home life.

In part, due to their post-migratory experiences in New York City, many relationships between Black Trinidadian men and women have begun to evolve into greater interdependence.

For the Trinidadian Indians in New York, male and female relationships are characterized by mutual understanding and cooperation in the face of new constraints put on the family as a consequence of the woman's wage earning status. This situation can be depicted as "entente". It involves compromise on the part of the man and the woman in order to maintain the centrality of the family. The importance of the family is underlined by traditional beliefs and is clearly reinforced by the ideals of marriage and stable family life. Nine of the 14 Indian men and women we interviewed were married. The women were gainfully employed outside the home except when they took time off to have children or vacations.

The authority of the Indian man over his mate and children has been well documented.²³ An Indian woman made a comparison between the position of the woman in the Indian household and in the Black household.

In the Indian household the man is the boss, and when he talks, you're not supposed to answer back. Whether he's wrong, right or indifferent, you cannot say anything to him, but just cry and walk away. But in the Black household, if your husband tells you this isn't so, you'll argue. You have the word in there. But if you grow up married under the Indian tradition, you cannot answer back.

Like the Black Trinidadian male, the Indian too has expressed a greater willingness to share in the housework because his wife works outside the home. His attitude was generally expressed in the following manner: "If my wife is at home, that's her job -- the housework. If she's working, we both chip in."

In Trinidad the man's role as sole economic provider served to reinforce his dominance in the Indian household, and led to this kind of remark:

In Trinidad an Indian man is not supposed to give his wife money. He goes shopping. He pays for everything. He takes her to the shop and he buys everything. She'll say, 'I'd like to have a bottle of oil, some baking powder and some flour,' but he pays for it. The woman doesn't get any money at all.

However, as a wage earner in New York this situation has changed. As one Indian woman stated, "Now that I have a job, I am independent. I stand up here as a man." And, in the course of one interview, another reminded her husband, "I was here before you. I'm the one that got my residence before and then sponsored you." But, by and

large, our female interviewees agreed, "We still live like we do at home. The only difference is that I am working here."

CONCLUSIONS

We have used the perceptions of Black and Indian Trinidadian immigrants in New York City to explore some of the ways in which their distinct ethnic traditions and Trinidadian background have shaped their responses, as men and women, to a new social and economic setting. Because of the limitations of our exploratory research design, our findings should be considered preliminary. This research undertaking, however, provides a broad foundation for future in-depth investigation into any one of the many issues explored here.

The means and strategies employed to achieve socioeconomic objectives often reflect the distinct ethnic traditions of the two groups. For example, the Blacks are more concerned with gaining white collar jobs and professional status. The Indians, on the other hand, focus their attention on economic activities that have more immediate monetary returns. In comparison with their pre-migration statuses most of the individuals in these two ethnic groups have experienced some improvements in their lives.

Within the American society, race and minority status are emphasized in the identification of the

individual. This process of identification influences judgments of merit, and serves as a guiding principle for the allocation of goods and services within the society. Both the Black and Indian Trinidadians have had to face the kind of discrimination meted out to African-Americans. Black Trinidadians feel the burden of this racial minority status even more than the Indians, because they are more concerned with status mobility, and more closely identified with the Black American group. The self-esteem of the Indian is reinforced and bolstered by their group identity, as Indians and Trinidadians, and to a lesser extent by their individual gains.

Despite the negative consequences of racial minority identification, Trinidadian women felt a greater sense of independence due to their wage earning abilities. This has affected traditional male-female relationships, especially in the household, more in the Black family than in the Indian. The differences can perhaps be best summarized as the attainment of "detente" within the Black family and "entente" in the Indian family.

However, despite the conflict and tension arising from the migration experience there is a determination to keep the Black family together. Yet, notwithstanding their newly acquired socioeconomic independence the Black women have had to develop strategies to preserve their advances. For example, handing over their paychecks to their husbands (a situation they might not have acceded to in Trinidad) and arranging to have their mothers migrate to New York to assist in the maintenance of the household

are only two of many strategies some women adopt.

Similarly, the Indian woman has acquired a decision-making role in her family. The acquiescence of her husband to her new role, as well as the wife's decision not to over emphasize her newly gained sense of independence, constitutes an informal agreement for cooperative action in the family -- an entente.

Finally, it is apparent that many aspects of Trinidadian social culture have been highlighted and reinforced by the migration process and serve as major stabilizing forces on the Trinidad immigrant family, both Black and Indian.

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NOTES

- ¹Roy S. Bryce-Laporte and Delores Mortimer, eds., *Caribbean Immigration to the United States*, RIES Occasional Papers no. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1976).

- ²Donald Wood, *Trinidad in Transition: The Years After Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 276.

- ³Roy S. Bryce-Laporte, "Caribbean Migration to the United States: Some Tentative Conclusions" in Bryce-Laporte and Mortimer, op. cit., p. 198.

- ⁴With the exception of Nancy Foner's work entitled "Male and Female: Jamaican Migrants in London," *Anthropological Quarterly* 49:1 (January 1976), pp. 28-35.

- ⁵Virginia R. Domínguez, *From Neighbor to Stranger: The Dilemma of Caribbean Peoples in the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Antilles Research Program, 1975), p. 13.

- ⁶Lucy Cohen, "The Female Factor in Resettlement," *Society* 14:6 (1977): p. 27.

- ⁷Jack Harewood, *The Population of Trinidad and Tobago* (Paris: Committee for International Coordination of National Research in Demography, 1975), p. 23.
- ⁸Dominguez, op. cit., p. 75.
- ⁹Harewood, op. cit., p. 23.
- ¹⁰It is not possible to give a more exact figure of the relative proportions of the two groups because census enumerations along ethnic lines for these and other vital statistics were discontinued in 1960 for political reasons. However, information on the relative size of the various components of the population is available. Using the labels of the census enumerations Harewood, op. cit., found that in 1970 the population of Trinidad and Tobago was divided as follows: Negro 42.8, East Indian 40.1, Mixed 14.2, and White 1.2.
- ¹¹Lloyd Braithwaite, *Social Stratification in Trinidad* (Port of Spain, Trinidad: Institute of Social and Economic Studies, Reprint 1975), p. 44.
- ¹²See Colin Clarke, "Pluralism and Stratification in San Fernando, Trinidad," in *Social Patterns in Cities* Institute of British Geographers Special Publication, no. 5(1973), p. 53 and

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- ¹³ See Robert Bell, "Marriage and Family Differences Among Lower Class Negro and East Indian Women in Trinidad," *Race* 12:1

Morton Klass, *East Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Cultural Persistence* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); and

Donald Wood, op. cit.

- ¹⁴ Robert Bell, op. cit.

- ¹⁵ Morton Klass, op. cit.

- ¹⁶ G. W. Roberts and L. Braithwaite, "Mating Among East Indian and Non-Indian Women in Trinidad" Research Paper Trinidad and Tobago, University of the West Indies, 1967.

- ¹⁷ Merle Hodge, "Young Women and the Development of Stable Family Life in the Caribbean," *Savacou* 13(1977).

- ¹⁸ Rubin and Zavalloni, op. cit., p. 125.

- ¹⁹ In Trinidad and Tobago the first to seventh standard is equivalent to an elementary school education. Seventh to ninth standards are two additional grades that

students can attain in intermediate schools. The intermediate schools are between the elementary and high schools.

- ²⁰Virginia Dominguez, "The Nature of Change." Paper presented at seminar on Women and Change, Boston, Massachusetts, 1977.
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PROFILE OF A HAITIAN MIGRANT WOMAN

Susan Hulsebusch Buchanan

INTRODUCTION

One distinguishing feature of recent Caribbean migration to the United States is the great number of women migrants.¹ However, like this particular migratory process itself, the implications and consequences of international movement for these women as well as their perceptions of that experience have only recently become the subject of intensive scholarly study. These observations apply equally well to Haitian women who play an important role in the migration of Haitians who seek economic and political security beyond the boundaries of their own country.

Although Haitian female and male migrants share many similar problems and reactions in their struggle to reconstruct their lives in the United States, the sexual difference does significantly affect their experiences within the new milieu. To identify some of the problems and the adaptive strategies utilized by this group, a composite profile of an adult female Haitian migrant is presented. The profile is based upon intensive interviews held with women during the course of fieldwork in the dispersed Haitian community of New York City.²

Because of demographic variations and differences in social class backgrounds among Haitian women migrants, this profile is not meant to be statistically representative. Instead, it serves as a framework for delineating and dramatizing the phases of the migration and resettlement process and of the problems faced in America society by these women.³

A preliminary statement about the Haitian migration to the United States and the New York City Haitian population places this profile within a broader context.

Haitian Migration to the United States

Although Haitians have sought refuge in the United States since colonial times, the recent outmigration began after François Duvalier won the 1956 presidential election. Politicians and military officers who opposed Duvalier were the first to leave followed by those intellectuals and professionals who found it prudent to seek their livelihood elsewhere as Duvalier consolidated his power. The first wave of the political refugees emigrated to francophone Africa, Canada, France, Latin America and nearby Caribbean islands. During the early 1960s the United States had joined this list of recipient countries. The Haitians who emigrated to the United States at that time were mainly from the urban middle class and elite. By the mid-1960s, however, Haitians from nearly all sectors of the society had begun to flee the terrorism of the regime and the country's worsening poverty.

Over half of the legal resident immigrants from Haiti presently in the United States have entered since 1968. Their entry largely was a response to the backlog in processing that was caused by passage of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act. Another development wrought by the 1965 Act was that "illegal" entry became more feasible than legal entry. As a result, during the 1970s, Haitians from even the poorest stratum clamored for tourist visas; those unofficial "passports" to a better future in the United States. (The most recent and well-publicized Haitian refugees, "the boat people," symbolize the continued desperate plight of a people who have yet to enjoy the fruits of political freedom and economic revolution.)

Although statistics on Haitians entering the United States are sparse because of the large number of undocumented aliens⁴ in the population and because the U.S. Census does not list Haitians as a separate category, Immigration and Naturalization Service data offer some clues to the population's composition. With particular reference to women, I.N.S. data confirm the observation that women comprise a substantial proportion of Haitians who enter the United States as legal residents. Between 1953 and 1978, 46,834 women and 40,892 men (a total of 87,726) were admitted to the United States as immigrants.⁵ The population tends to be young with the largest clusterings of entrants (1953-1978) in the age ranges of 10-19 years (11,114 women; 10,059 men); 20-29 years (11,323

women; 9,459 men); and 30-39 years (8,351 women; 9,195 men).⁶

I.N.S. tables showing the major occupational groups of Haitian immigrants indicate only one category in which women are clearly identifiable: "Housewives, children and others with no occupation."⁷ In this category, the number of Haitian immigrants is consistently high each year (often over 50 percent of the total annual number of Haitians entering with legal residence) indicating (1) that many Haitian women list themselves as housewives or unemployed or (2) that they are finally being claimed by earlier migrants.⁸ Statistics on the number of women who enter on tourist visas and who break the conditions of their visas by overstaying their allotted time or by accepting employment are unavailable. However, because migration is a culturally sanctioned step for both sexes and women sometimes have less difficulty obtaining tourist visas than men, it is reasonable to assume that they also participate in the undocumented alien flow.

The largest concentration of Haitians in the United States is found in the nation's immigrant capital, New York City. Numbering an estimated 250,000-300,000,⁹ the Haitian colony has developed enclaves dispersed throughout the city. The majority of Haitians reside in low-income neighborhoods in Brooklyn and Manhattan which they share with other Caribbean immigrants and with African-Americans. A small, wealthier minority live in

lower middle income areas of Queens and Brooklyn. The majority of these migrants, including some highly educated persons, work at menial unskilled jobs in factories, service industries, and domestic service. Only a small percentage (primarily earlier migrants who have experienced some economic upward mobility) hold professional, technical, or managerial positions or own small businesses. A phenotypically black population, Haitians are a minority within a minority distinguishable from the larger African-American population by cultural and linguistic characteristics, particularly their languages -- Haitian Creole and French.

THE HAITIAN IMMIGRANT WOMAN: PROFILE OF AN IMMIGRANT*

Yvette is a young woman in her early thirties who has been in the United States for ten years. Born in Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital, into a family of five children, Yvette's parents owned a small boutique and her father worked as a general handyman. Yvette received the equivalent of a seventh grade education, spoke very basic French, but was more comfortable with Haitian Creole, her native tongue. After she left school, she had worked with her mother in the shop, helping to support her siblings. She married at age twenty and had two children in

*Although this profile is presented through the case study of an individual, it is a composite and not the actual life history of any one individual.

rapid succession. Her husband, a tailor, owned a small shop and Yvette learned some skill as a seamstress from him. Although not desperately poor, Yvette and her husband struggled to make ends meet and could be considered part of the urban proletariat.

Like most Haitians, except the earliest arrivals in the United States, Yvette had a relative who preceded her to New York City. The relative, an elder sister, worked as a domestic for an American family and eventually gained her residency through that family's sponsorship. At the time of Yvette's departure from Haiti, her sister had not yet become an American citizen and therefore could not assist in obtaining a resident visa. The sister, however, did encourage Yvette to come to New York to work and offered to help defray the high costs of migration. (In 1970, in addition to airfare approximately \$1500 was needed to cover fees for the visa, passport, taxes, and a travel agent who could expedite the process.) Yvette's decision to migrate was influenced, partially, by the glowing reports of life in New York which she received from her sister as well as returning visitors. But, essentially, the decision was prompted mainly by economic necessity coupled with personal and familial problems with the *Tonton Macoutes* -- the unofficial "police" force in Haiti. Because her husband had the responsibility of maintaining his tailor shop and the fact that it was Yvette's sister who was willing to finance the departure, the family decided that (1) Yvette should be the next

one to try life in New York and (2) she should send for her husband as soon as possible. A friend recommended a "good" travel agent, that is one who appeared to have "success" in negotiating the bureaucratic tangles of the emigration process. Yvette was coached in the necessary replies about her reasons for visiting New York City. (Her sister's presence was important, but the existence of a bank account was also important as a demonstration that she would not be a burden to the U.S. Government during her visit.) Within two months of applying she received her tourist visa.*

It should be noted that Port-au-Prince serves as a "trampoline" for nearly all Haitians wishing to emigrate as it is the center of the American and Haitian bureaucracies dealing with immigration and for the travel agents. Persons from the provinces or large towns who wish to emigrate must come to Port-au-Prince first, an additional expense in the migration process. Much of the internal migration within the country has been from rural areas to small towns to Port-au-Prince.¹⁰ Emigration has historically been an important aspect of Haitian life and thus is part of the social environment itself. Because it requires an enormous amount of money and an investment of time and worry, migration is a carefully reasoned and planned move.⁹

*Had Yvette been able to apply for legal residence through either labor certification (for which she did not qualify) or her sister, she would have waited nearly two years for her visa.

Resettlement and Employment

Yvette left Haiti with some trepidation about the future, but also with the belief that her future as well as that of her children would be brighter and more secure. Upon arriving at the airport in New York City, where she was met by her sister, Yvette was understandably overwhelmed by the foreignness of the city, language, and physical landscape.

Her sister, who married a Haitian in the United States, set aside a small space for Yvette in their crowded five-room Brooklyn tenement apartment. The household then consisted of Yvette, her sister and brother-in-law, the couple's two children and her brother-in-law's cousin, a young man of twenty-six. Yvette's sister still worked as a domestic and her brother-in-law drove a taxicab. The cousin worked in a factory. Yvette gradually found the living conditions to be almost intolerable as they allowed for little privacy and required much juggling of schedules in order to accommodate everyone. This competition for space within Haitian households and having boarders or extended family members as residents is typical, especially in the initial stages of a family's migration and resettlement as the Haitian migration pattern follows a chain migration model.¹¹

Once settled with relatives or friends, employment poses the next problem confronting any migrant. Unlike the earliest Haitian migrants to New York City, those

arriving during the late sixties and seventies entered a pre-established "community" and generally renewed contacts with a network of relatives and friends who assisted the new arrivals in their search for jobs and adaptation to the milieu. In Yvette's case, her sister had a friend working in a factory where luggage and handbags were manufactured. Several days after Yvette's arrival she was introduced to the friend, a woman, who took her to the factory and gave her on-the-job training in snipping threads from pieces of luggage and handbags.

Factory work of this sort plus other jobs which defy automation and domestic service provide the initial employment experience for the majority of Haitian women entering the United States. A minority who have a good command of English and some marketable skills obtain technical, skilled or clerical positions upon entry. Basically because of their double minority status (as blacks and women), lack of fluency in English and, for some, their undocumented status, Haitian women encounter a great deal of discrimination in both their search for employment as well as on the job. Whereas Yvette found work through her kinship network and her sister's friendship network, other resources such as Haitian community centers, employment agencies and churches are available to assist the new arrivals.

Like most new arrivals, Yvette willingly accepted the factory job in order to meet her rapidly accumulating

daily expenses, repay the debt to her sister, and to accumulate savings for future migrants' expenses. Although Yvette's lack of English caused her a great deal of confusion during the first several weeks, with some coaching from her sister, brother-in-law, and co-workers, she learned to decipher her supervisor's instructions and to learn the basic skills, such as mastery of the subway and bus systems, necessary to survival in an urban industrial milieu. At the time, her pay fell below the minimum wage, but she was grateful that no one questioned her legal status or asked for her alien card. She did live in constant fear that the I.N.S. would raid the factory or her residence, a possibility which aroused a great deal of anxiety and caused her to be suspicious of strangers and others outside her immediate circle of kin and friends.

Initially her net wages of \$75 per week seemed enormous, but her weekly payments to her sister for room and board, transportation, daily expenses and remittances soon brought home its limitations. Yvette found her work boring and derived little satisfaction from the work itself. Part of the dissatisfaction arose from the monotonous nature of her tasks, the unpleasant working conditions and partly from the realization that her low wages precluded amassing savings quickly. She encountered American racism for the first time also at work, another aspect which detracted from its positive aspects. A major satisfaction Yvette derives from working lies less

with the job itself than with the opportunity to work and the possibility for some advancement. Working enables Haitian women to provide their families here and in Haiti with a higher standard of living and thus to fulfill more effectively their highly valued roles as mothers.

Inadequate education and lack of skills relevant to an urban industrial setting prevents many Haitian women from maximizing their potential for assisting their families financially. Critical to advancement of any sort is a solid command of the English language. To improve her job possibilities, Yvette enrolled in an adult English-as-a-Second Language course given at a local church. Being literate already, she did not have to learn to read and write, a stumbling block for her non-literate compatriots. Spoken English, however, gives her difficulty and her opportunities to practice speaking are somewhat limited as Haitian Creole is the major language spoken at home and her co-workers speak Creole, Spanish, or other foreign languages. Yvette aspired to learn enough English to enter domestic service and eventually to become a nurse's aide. More educated women who master English will often resume their educations, if and when familial and economic circumstances permit it. They have obtained the lower echelon of the white collar job market and are also dispersed throughout the upper rungs of the occupational structure as accountants, insurance agents, teachers, doctors, nurses, laboratory technicians and so

on. The health field attracts Haitian women because it pays well and often offers a flexible working schedule, enabling them to spend more time with their children.

Yvette's search for upward mobility was greatly hindered by her undocumented status. Although she remained in factory work for several years, she ultimately managed to obtain a better paying job with medical coverage. Because "slow periods" and layoffs are endemic to factory work, Yvette, like many enterprising Haitian women, supplemented her income through part-time self-employment, in her case, dressmaking. Some women bake for and cater baptisms, marriages, or parties; others sell Tupperware, cosmetics, jewelry, or products purchased from their place of employment to a clientele of friends, relatives, and co-workers. Temporarily unemployed women or those who cannot work full time because of children or their age often open "daycare" centers in their homes and thus provide other Haitian women with babysitting services.

Changes in Sexual Roles and Family Relationships

Despite these obstacles, within two years of her arrival, Yvette had accumulated enough money to finance her husband's entry and to move to an apartment near her sister's.¹² Because she had preceded her husband and successfully negotiated the system, Yvette served as her husband's initial reference point and orientation source

and socialized him into various aspects of "the American way of life". Initially, his dependency upon her knowledge, command of English, and financial aid caused some resentment and friction between them. However, because Yvette herself lacked resident status and the concomitant ability to sign residency papers for her husband, she did not have the one source of power that often causes disruption in Haitian households. Despite their initial difficulties, they managed to adjust to each other and worked together (he as a factory worker and later gypsy cab driver) to bring their children into the country. Yvette missed them terribly and, because of her undocumented status, could not return to Haiti to visit them. Two years after her husband's entry, they succeeded in financing their two children's entry. Yvette's household had by this time also become the place of residence for new arrivals including, at various points in time, a maternal aunt, her husband's brother, and a cousin. Yvette's knowledge of the American milieu made her the focal point of an extended family network and she acted as a cultural broker for new entrants on many occasions.

Resettlement in New York City and the economic gains experienced by Haitian women have affected their relationships with their spouses and children. Here it is important to note that in Haitian households the woman's income is central, not supplementary as it might have been in Haiti depending upon her social class status. Like Yvette, very few Haitian women have the option to

stay at home unemployed. One income per household is rarely enough to maintain the New York City household, much less dependents on the island, given the expense of living in New York and the low-income jobs held by the majority of Haitians. Women from the Haitian elite and middle class who did not work in Haiti find it pragmatically necessary to be employed here. As many of them lost not only their social position and wealth through migration (in addition to the accoutrements of high social standing such as a house and servants) they also work to reestablish their social position and to protect their families from further downward social and economic mobility. Women from the lower social strata, such as Yvette, seek both a higher standard of living than they had in Haiti and upward mobility.

Although an ideology of male dominance tends to prevail in Haitian households, women's greater financial independence exacerbates any pre-existing antagonism between the sexes. Yvette's husband, like many Haitian men, grumbles that Haitian women in New York behave like *gran moun*¹³ (adults, in contrast to *ti moun*, children), are not as submissive, and are more demanding and assertive. He reasons that "Nouyòk gaté anpil fiy paske yo vin konnin pouvoua lajan" (New York spoils a lot of women because they learn the power of money). Haitian women also realize that their increased earning capacity, regular jobs, and the centrality of their income to the household gives them potential leverage and more power

vis-à-vis their husbands. Often, they are reluctant to challenge their husbands because quarrels ensue. Furthermore, differences of opinion can mount to the point where separation and divorce become the only solutions which, while culturally acceptable, is undesirable from most women's viewpoint. Yvette summarizes the Haitian woman's perception of her position by lamenting that "mariaj sé esclavaj" (marriage is slavery).

Although some behavioral changes have occurred in the sexual roles, from the Haitian woman's perspective the cultural definitions of these roles appear basically unchanged. Yvette's role as worker is an historically and traditionally important one in the Haitian economy.¹⁴ Obviously, working in the United States differs considerably from working in Haiti in terms of the kinds of work, work environment, and work schedule demanded in an urban, industrial setting. Work in the United States also entails less integration of the employment and domestic spheres, more traveling, and more complex child care arrangements (relatives who rendered these services in Haiti are not always available in the United States). The role of worker for Yvette is basically an integral part of her role as mother and wife and a way of fulfilling her responsibilities to her family.

Within the household, the sexual dichotomy continues to be the major method for allocating work. Despite Yvette's full-time employment and the additional burdens working entails, Yvette bears the major

responsibility for housekeeping, cooking, and child care. Although her husband helps her more than he would have in Haiti, these tasks are culturally categorized as belonging to the female domain and he lends a hand somewhat resentfully and by default. Yvette feels overburdened, particularly as she had some household help in Haiti (women from the elite and middle class who depended entirely upon domestic servants initially often find themselves overwhelmed by their domestic duties here and their lack of servants). She would prefer a more equitable division of household chores with her husband and describes herself as a worker in two factories -- at home and at her place of employment.

Haitian women and men consider the affective tie between mother and child to be stronger than that between husband and wife. Children thus form a central focus of Haitian women's lives and they still bear the major responsibility for their upbringing and their moral education in New York City, tasks which Yvette finds increasingly difficult. Her work schedule, for example, precludes her presence at home when the children arrive from school. Until she recruited her mother from Haiti to care for them, she relied upon a series of babysitters. She finds the growing linguistic and cultural gap between herself and her children disturbing, worries about her loss of authority over them, and frets about their becoming "too Americanized". Although she believes their futures will be better in the United States than in Haiti

and that English is crucial to that future, she wants her children to learn to speak French, still a mark of prestige and status within the New York City Haitian community. To insure their proper discipline and religious training and to protect them from "bad" influences, she and her husband make sacrifices so that the children can attend a Catholic school, an option which many Haitians would prefer to public schools, but simply cannot afford.

Extra-Domestic Activities

Yvette's life centers around her home and work. The migration and resettlement in New York City has not generally resulted in the expansion of Haitian women's activities beyond these realms. Again, cultural and pragmatic constraints confine women to their traditional domains and public activities generally remain the province of men. Haitian women have less personal freedom, mobility and leisure time than do Haitian men. Culturally, both men and women still define the *foyé* (home) as the appropriate domain of women and locate their primary responsibilities there. Beyond work and household-centered activities, Yvette must justify to her husband the time she spends outside the house and account for her whereabouts, whereas her husband comes and goes as he pleases. *Lari*; the street or any place beyond the home, is culturally defined as a male preserve which is "dangerous"

for women because it is on the street that men test their sexual prowess. Consequently, Yvette, like other Haitian women concerned about their reputations, usually ventures out with a family member or friend and tends to prefer group to solo excursions. Very jealous husbands sometimes do not permit their wives to go out alone or restrict their movements by chauffeuring them to their destinations. Despite some restriction upon their spatial mobility, Haitian women such as Yvette do maintain and renew their kinship and friendship ties at family parties, visits, baptisms, marriages, and other major social events, which usually occur on weekends. The telephone serves as Haitian women's major means of maintaining contact and is known as a woman's instrument.

The triple burden of working outside of the home, inside the home, and caring for her children leaves Yvette with little free time or energy to devote to extra-domestic activities and personal interests. When she has the time and energy, she attends a Bible class at a local Catholic church where a Haitian priest says the Sunday Mass which she also regularly attends. Catholic and Protestant church services and activities provide women, especially unmarried ones, with a culturally endorsed way to spend their "free" time as well as providing them with an outlet for their frustrations and sufferings. Both men and women define the church as an appropriate, safe, and female domain. For those women with the time and interest, Haitian social, cultural, and political associations also

provide outside activities. A few exclusively female organizations, such as the Girl Scouts, women's soccer teams, and dance troupes exist within the Haitian community, but these are basically oriented toward girls or young women. Some educated, politically aware women have attempted to mobilize others around feminist issues per se or feminist issues within the context of expatriate opposition to the Duvalier regime, Western (American) imperialism and the capitalist system. The majority of Haitian women, like Yvette, manifest a marked indifference to politics, a domain traditionally relegated to and dominated by men (although men display a like disinterest).

Attitudes about the United States and the Future

Yvette has ambivalent feelings about life in the United States and about returning to Haiti. Generally speaking, she is grateful for the opportunity to work, particularly because she has been able to raise and surpass the standard of living she and her family would have had in Haiti. She finally attained her goal of being a nurse's aide; she and her husband bought a car and a house, and their hard work and sacrifices have enabled them to provide well for their children. Yet, Yvette does not feel totally at ease in this society. She finds her position as a black, Creole-French-speaking foreigner particularly difficult and ambiguous because she is not totally accepted by white or black Americans.¹⁵ The

stigma, clandestine life, and problems associated with her undocumented status was a major source of stress and anxiety for Yvette during most of her life here. She is now regularizing her status through her sister who gained resident status and finally American citizenship.¹⁶ Once she becomes a legal resident of the United States, Yvette plans to return to Haiti for a visit, but is unsure about returning there to live. She would consider retiring in Haiti, but only if she and her husband could afford to do so comfortably and without fear. Yvette describes herself mainly as *résigné* (resigned) to the fact that she cannot live in her own country because of its political and economic conditions and *résigné* to her life in the United States overall. Despite the benefits which Yvette has accrued since emigrating, she would have preferred to remain in Haiti. For Yvette and her family, the migration and resettlement indeed extracted a heavy price.

CONCLUSION

Through this composite profile of an Haitian migrant woman we see that the migration to and resettlement in New York City has simultaneously improved and worsened the lives of Haitian women. Haitian women benefit from their increased earning capacity, greater feeling of independence, improved living standards, and the perceived opportunity to work and to advance. These

positive factors are offset by increased domestic and familial responsibilities engendered by their role as workers in an urban, industrial society, disruption of kinship support systems, loss of domestic help, and the needs of relatives in Haiti. Although Haitian women's greater economic independence has somewhat improved their status within the family, there has been no drastic redefinition of sex roles and attitudes on either an individual or collective basis. From the Haitian woman's viewpoint, the cultural definitions of sex roles and accompanying behavior remains basically unchanged and she bears the brunt of child care and household responsibilities. Given the additional problems and abuses that accompany their status as blacks in a predominantly white society and, for many, as undocumented aliens and workers in menial, exploitative jobs, it is understandable that Haitian women express considerable ambivalence about their lives here and perceive that in many respects life has become more difficult.

Within a larger context, Haitian women share many problems with other Afro-Caribbean female migrants to the United States. The Haitian case is complicated, however, by the fact that they do not enter with the linguistic advantage of either English or Spanish do they enter a society which has a large native or immigrant population with whom they share some cultural or linguistic affinities. The political conditions and poverty in Haiti make the possibility of return emigration

less likely for Haitians than for other Caribbean migrants. Thus they must cope with a slightly different set of problems of adjustment and adaptation within the new milieu. Future comparative studies will delineate the significance of cultural differences between Haitian and other Afro-Caribbean female migrants in their adaptation to the diaspora.

More detailed studies of female migrants to the United States and throughout the world indicate that women play important, but until recently obscured roles in the migration process. They are significant links in the migration chain, not just as followers of male "pioneers" but as individuals who seek to improve their personal socioeconomic status as well as that of their families. Once in the area of resettlement they are significant in the formation and maintenance of social networks which bind ethnic communities together and facilitate the entry, adjustment, and adaptation of later migrants. Their motivations for coming and the larger macrostructural forces operating to push them from their own countries into more developed ones are important areas of study. However, the emphasis upon the macrostructure tends to obscure the very real and painful problems of children, women and men whose very survival and futures are at stake. Their perceptions and understandings of their situation within their new countries of residence, the influence of their particular culture and historical background in coping with and

manipulating their new environment are equally important subjects for consideration. The women and men who enter this country as migrants are social actors who construct their own reality; they are not just reactors to a particular set of socioeconomic and political circumstances.

POSTSCRIPT

Since April 1980, nearly 13,000 Haitians have entered South Florida, swelling the Greater Miami Haitian population to an estimated 35,000 residents. The majority of them are destitute Haitians fleeing poverty and political repression in small, ill-equipped boats sailing directly from Haiti with stopovers in the Bahamas or Cuba or coming directly from the Bahamas where the Haitian population has been threatened with deportation (and also actually deported) and where they are unwelcome. A number of Haitians, mainly from the more educated, urban sector of society, fly directly from Port-au-Prince to Miami and are detained by the Immigration and Naturalization Service because they carry false papers.

Those Haitians who arrived between April 10th and October 10th, 1980, have been officially paroled into the country as "entrants". Those arriving after October 10th are now subject to exclusion hearings and are not entitled to many benefits accorded entrants. Until recently, the State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service have uniformly considered Haitians to be solely economic refugees and have denied their collective claims for political asylum and ignored individual claims for asylum. A hard-fought series of court cases since 1972 have established Haitians' right to work permits while their cases are pending; an opportunity to present evidence at a fair, impartial hearing on asylum

before an immigration judge; and a stay of deportation until their claims for political asylum have been heard (recently overturned). Time after time, the court has found that Haitians making claims for political asylum have been treated in a discriminatory manner by governmental agencies whose ultimate goal has been their deportation.

Data on 7,000 Haitian entrants show that although nearly 75 percent of them have been men, 22 percent are women and 3 percent children (Cuban-Haitian Task Force Monthly Entrant Report, November 1980, p. 4). These Haitians face an enormous host of problems in Miami and in South Florida, where most of them have resettled. These problems include prejudice and discrimination from both white and black Americans who view them as persons seeking welfare or as competitors for scarce jobs and resources; lack of skills relevant to an urban, industrial labor force, but suited to lower paying menial jobs in service and farm industries; linguistic and cultural barriers; lack of adequate, safe housing; lack of literacy and education. Officials handling the delivery of social services to this population find that the Haitians' ambiguous legal status exacerbates efforts to relieve their emotional and financial burdens. Many of their needs go unfilled simply because they are afraid to avail themselves of programs, such as Food Stamps, Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, for which entrants are eligible. Many of these programs have

traditionally been directed specifically at women and children.

Social and mental health workers frequently mention that Haitian women appear to be the most isolated and the most burdened segment of the refugee population, particularly as many of them have small children or are pregnant upon or soon after arrival. Being more homebound than men, they are not participating as actively in the labor force and hence their opportunities for learning English and for gaining skills are lessened as well as their contact with and interaction with American society. Lack of adequate prenatal care for both mother and child, crowded, unsanitary housing with its attendant health problems, lack of childcare facilities, and the stress of life in an alien culture aggravate their situation. Social workers in Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach counties recount stories of Haitian women with babies and small children living in cars or on the street. They stress the need for halfway houses where women and children in particular can be housed semipermanently until they have established themselves at a job, and state that Haitian women require more social services directly related to their survival and their children's than do Haitian men.

The presence of a geographically distinguishable Haitian enclave in Miami proper ("Little Haiti") somewhat eases the transitional and adjustment period for incoming Haitians. The community, however, is politically powerless and its community agencies sorely taxed financially

and lack the necessary staffs to deal with the enormous social problems posed by the large influx of Haitians into the area. Although Haitian women do not comprise the majority of those classified as "entrants" or the majority of those still arriving, their needs and their children's needs require special and immediate attention. Unhappily, federal, state, and local officials' bickering over responsibility for the delivery of services, as well as Haitians' questionable legal status, has often deflected attention from their plight and from their very human suffering.

NOTES

¹See Lucy M. Cohen, "The Female Factor in Resettlement," *Society* 14:6 (1977: 27-30, and Virginia R. Dominguéz, *From Neighbor to Stranger: The Dilemma of Caribbean Peoples in the United States* (New Haven: Yale University, Antilles Research Program, 1975), p. 13.

²Material for this paper was collected between October 1974 and January 1977 during the course of anthropological fieldwork among Haitian migrants in New York City. The results of this research can be found in my doctoral dissertation entitled, "Scattered Seeds: The Meaning of the Migration for Haitians in New York City" (New York University, Department of Anthropology, October 1980). Funding for my research was generously provided by David Kriser through the Charles Kriser Foundation.

³I have also addressed these issues in a previous paper. See Susan Hulsebusch Buchanan, "Haitian Women in New York City," *Migration Today* 7:4 (1979): 19-25, 39. Other works focusing specifically or touching upon Haitian women in the diaspora include: Roger Bastide, Françoise Morin, and François Raveau, *Les Haïtiens en France* (Paris: Mouton, 1974); Verena Bernardin-Haldemann, "Femmes Haïtiennes à Montréal" (*Maîtrise en Sociologie*, Université Laval, 1972); Rénaud Clérismé, "Dependency and Migration, A Case Study: Bassin-Bleuans in Brooklyn" (M.A. Thesis, New York University, 1975); Michel

Laguerre, "Ethnicity as Dependence: The Situational Context (unpublished manuscript, 1978); Françoise Morin, "La Femme Haitienne en Diaspora," in *La Femme de Couleur en Amerique Latine*, ed. Roger Bastide (Paris: Editions Anthropos, 1974), pp. 211-220; Kitty Hyppolite Rey, *The Haitian Family: Implications for the Sex Education of Haitian Children in the United States* (New York: Community Society of New York, 1970).

⁴The term "undocumented alien" includes not only those persons who enter the country without the proper documents, but also to those who enter legally on a visa and break the conditions of their entry, usually by overstaying the conditions of their visa or by accepting employment. Estimates on the percentage of undocumented aliens within the Haitian population run as high as 75 percent according to Jean-Yves Urfié, "Les Illegaux-Boucs Emissaires," *Sèl* No. 9 (1973): 11.

⁵United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Annual Reports* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953-1978): Table 9.

⁶Ibid.

⁷United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Annual Reports* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962-1978): Table 8.

⁸Dominguez, op. cit., p. 18.

- ⁹Given the incalculable numbers of undocumented aliens within the New York City Haitian population, only a "guesstimate" of its size can be made on the basis of I.N.S. data on legal residents and the estimates of knowledgeable sources within the community.
- ¹⁰Young Haitian women, particularly in the age category of 15-19 years, outnumber men in the movement from rural to urban areas of Haiti. See *Women in Migration: A Third World Focus* (Washington, D.C.: International Center for Research on Women, 1979), pp. 21-23.
- ¹¹J. S. and L. MacDonald, "Chain Migration: Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 42 (1964), pp. 82-95.
- ¹²Had Yvette been unmarried, but affianced before her departure and had she obtained or entered with legal residence, she could have returned to Haiti to marry and thus make her spouse eligible for resident status. Such a marriage is called *mariaj bay bous*, a "scholarship" marriage.
- ¹³Phrases and quotations are given in Haitian Creole, the mother tongue of the majority of Haitian people.
- ¹⁴For discussions of women's participation in the economic sphere in Haiti the reader should consult Georges Anglade, *L'Espace Haitien* (Quebec: Universite du Quebec, 1974); Madeleine Sylvain Bouchereau, *Haiti et Ses Femmes*

(Port-au-Prince: Les Presses Libres, 1957); and Sidney Mintz, "Les Roles Economiques et La Tradition Culturelle," in *La Femme de Couleur en Amerique Latine*, ed. Roger Bastide (Paris: Editions Anthropos, 1974), pp. 115-148.

- ¹⁵ Haitians and African-Americans hold reciprocally negative stereotypes which interfere with interpersonal and collective relationships. Assimilation to most Haitians means assimilation within black America, which they find undesirable because of the low status of blacks in the United States and also because of their own prejudices. For a further discussion of this issue see Susan Huelsebusch Buchanan, "Language and Identity among Haitians in New York City," *International Migration Review* 13:2 (1979): 298-313.

- ¹⁶ If Yvette had had a child born in the United States before January 1, 1977, as a parent of an American citizen she would have been exempt from the labor certification requirement of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act and entitled to a visa, whether or not she had skills or was married. In the Haitian community, these children are called *bebe sauve* or *bebe emanuel* as they "saved" or rescued their parents from the limbo of their existence as undocumented aliens. This type of case was discontinued after January 1, 1977; a parent of an American citizen cannot gain residency through the child until the child reaches twenty-one years of age.

ETHNIC, RACIAL ATTITUDES AMONG PROFESSIONAL
AND MANAGERIAL BLACK WOMEN: RESEARCH NOTE

Audrey Johnson

INTRODUCTION

In attempts to study the broad and complex nature of the integration of racial groups it is extremely rare to find a study on intraracial assimilation among blacks in the United States. Generally, it is taken for granted that all blacks are alike. In direct contrast, it is acknowledged that intraracial assimilation between American Anglo-Saxons and many southern European immigrants has never been fully consummated. The latter group are commonly referred to in the literature as ethnic Americans with little, if any reference to foreign-born blacks.

Blacks are usually treated as a racial group regardless of their country of origin or region of birth. For some obscure reason, blacks are seen as being far more successful in the process of intraracial assimilation than native white Americans are with European immigrants. In other words, blacks regardless of their regional or national origins have blended together into one culturally indistinguishable group.

The aim of this note is to show that black West Indian Americans when compared with African Americans have substantially different perceptions of many American

social realities and among African-Americans there is variance traceable to their region of birth. For example, among American-born blacks, there are perceptions that West Indians as a group are clannish, aggressive and possess attitudes of superiority to American blacks. West Indians also view American blacks as failing to take advantage of the considerably greater opportunities within this society.

Differences in perceptions of blacks due to their different cultural backgrounds underscore the variations in their assessment of American social realities. West Indian blacks have learned to look upon their racial membership with pride, not with inferiority. Secondly, those who emigrate to this country are a selective breed like the Europeans, for regardless of their origin or social class, they too have a strong belief in their ability to overcome any obstacles. Anglophone West Indians' perceptions of values to upward socioeconomic mobility are based on their inherited British ideology which establishes the superiority of middle and upper class over and above lower and peasant socioeconomic groups. Consequently, they are keenly aware of the subsequent denial of much sought after deference and material rewards for those who insist upon clinging to or adopting lower class beliefs and attitudes in the society from which they have immigrated. On the other hand, American blacks coming from a heritage of assumed inferiority based on race, perceive all opportunities or the lack of them, in clearly racial terms despite the invalidity of this position. For American blacks

belief in this ideology often produces attitudes and perceptions which are detrimental in achieving goals for upward mobility. Undoubtedly, this is a controversial issue since it unearths the old question of social determinism over and above individualism. But, the question of interest here is, are West Indians more successful because their approach to opportunity is a very positive one as opposed to American blacks whose approach is a very negative one? Furthermore with regard to employment, one cannot ignore the fact that white Americans usually perceive and evaluate West Indians in a more positive light than they do black Americans. Why is this so? Suffice it to say that perhaps due to West Indian blacks' command of the English language, their mannerisms, and life styles tend to make most white Americans feel more comfortable in their presence. Secondly, as foreigners they have the protection of their consulates which in the past were, and to some extent today are more powerful than the NAACP or the Urban League. All in all encounters with white Americans have not been comparable to those of American blacks.

HYPOTHESES

We propose the following hypotheses which may provide meaningful insight into the nature of these social realities discussed above which exist in this society. Firstly, there are major differences between blacks depending on their region of birth or country of origin or their

parents' country of birth. Secondly, West Indians are culturally different. Lastly, West Indians are more concerned with the class differences which impede upward mobility of blacks, in contrast to African Americans who are more likely to attribute impediments to racism.

SAMPLE POPULATION

Data was gathered from a sample population of 109 black women, residing within the New York Metropolitan area who are in professions or managerial positions which are normally prestigious for men. They were categorized according to their region of birth or ethnicity: Northern-born and raised American blacks (NAB); Southern-born and raised American blacks (SAB); and West Indian black Americans (WI) of first and second generation from Anglophone areas of the Caribbean. These groups became independent variables.

Respondents were given a survey of which a major portion of their responses were measured on a Linkert type scale. This section was designed to get at respondents' perceptions of (a) differences between black groups, (b) racial and class discrimination as it effects patterns of upward mobility, and (c) opportunities for achievement by blacks. These were designated as the dependent variables.

FINDINGS

Respondents were asked to react to intraracial differences among blacks. To begin with, all three groups

agreed that for African-Americans color is an important factor for upward mobility, but that belief was not fully subscribed to by the West Indians. Both groups have different ideas about color and upward mobility. On the other hand, the Southern-born native African Americans saw themselves as distinctly different from the Northern-born whom they viewed as less ambitious. (At this point, it should be noted that the Southern-born American blacks in this sample are a select group because they are migrants.) Nevertheless, Southern-born blacks saw themselves as a separate entity in certain matters in comparison to Northern-born blacks.

Intraracial differences in perceptions of educational opportunities were evident between American blacks from the North and West Indian blacks. The City University of New York is unique in that until recently it was possible for any citizen and resident of New York City who qualified, to work toward the baccalaureate at the expense of the city taxpayer. Respondents readily admitted that there were different points of view as to expectations for black children on the part of West Indian parents and African-American parents. The latter group did not take for granted that their children had equal access to free higher education whereas West Indian parents did (see Table 1). The differences between expectations of North American and West Indian parents regarding perceptions of access to higher educational opportunities for their children were more clearly seen by American black respondents than West Indian respondents.

TABLE 1

INTRARACIAL DIFFERENCES AMONG BLACKS

	NAB NO.		SAB NO.		WI NO.	
	AGREE	DISAGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE
American Black women are more likely to associate color with upward mobility than West Indians	14	7	10	8	13	8
Southern born and raised American blacks are more ambitious than Northern born and raised American blacks	13	12	21	9	10	8
Before the New Open Admission Policy for the City University of New York, West Indian parents took it for granted that their children would have access to a free higher education	16	9	18	8	14	17
Prior to the New Open Admission Policy for the City University of New York American black parents did not expect their children to have access to a higher education	17	3	15	4	26	6

Without any hesitancy, respondents found that there were distinct cultural differences among blacks. West Indians readily confessed to and African-Americans agreed that there exists a tendency toward ethnocentrism

among West Indians. But they rejected the idea that West Indians have better manners which the latter insist that they did. This proved to be the same in the case of perceptions of family life styles. American blacks did not concede that West Indians had a family life style which differed significantly from theirs whereas West Indians stubbornly insisted this was so (see Table 2).

TABLE 2
CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BLACKS

	NAB NO.		SAB NO.		WI NO.	
	AGREE	DISAGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE
West Indians feel superior to American blacks	24	12	27	5	26	3
Victorian life styles of West Indian homes make it easier for their children as adults to achieve entrance into the professional or managerial elites.	13	4	12	5	21	5

Next we examined the issues of perceptions of racial and class discrimination in this society. As pointed out earlier, American-born blacks usually view all forms of discrimination as being based on race. This can be understood given the fact that class difference was not emphasized in America. In general (and certainly not in most literature describing the life styles of black Americans) the existence of a lower class was not

given much validity. It was agreed that those American blacks who did not make it into the middle class were depicted as not having the opportunities as other blacks to do so. Whereas anglophile West Indian blacks who came from a heritage in which class was stressed over and above race had other opinions. Consequently, West Indians as "strangers" and American blacks as native, saw forms of class and racial discrimination differently in America (see Table 3).

TABLE 3

DISCRIMINATION: RACIAL VERSUS CLASS DIFFERENCES

	NAB NO.		SAB NO.		WI NO.	
	AGREE	DISAGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE
American blacks are quicker than West Indians to accuse whites of racial discrimination	17	4	14	5	16	6
American blacks are less successful in business and school because of lower class background and behavioral patterns	9	24	6	23	13	12

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In light of the responses of those respondents participating in this survey, it can be said that there are salient differences between blacks regarding their perceptions of American social realities. There were

distinct differences on cognate issues affecting blacks which were traceable to their region of birth or ethnicity. In keeping with this finding were the reactions to cultural differences among blacks. Here respondents verified the existence of not only ethnocentrism on the part of West Indian blacks, but regionalism among American blacks. Secondly, throughout this analysis was an outstanding difference between American blacks and West Indian blacks. Lastly, was the difference social class had for West Indian blacks vis-à-vis American blacks. For the former, a British heritage had made them more keenly aware of the presence of social class in a community, be it black or white. On the other hand, American blacks reflect their cultural heritage which has made race more important than class when it came to differences between blacks and whites.

In conclusion, it must be said that this merely touches the tip of a polemic iceberg. Nevertheless, it does suggest caution to those engaged in research on blacks in this society. In order to ensure a purity of categories or variables, it is extremely important to account for these differences in any sample population consisting of blacks. In other words, it is not possible to extrapolate about blacks without taking into consideration their region of birth or ethnicity. Intraracial assimilation has not in actuality taken place as yet.

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NIGERIAN WOMEN AND CHILD-REARING PRACTICES IN
WASHINGTON, D.C.: A SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS
AND IMPLICATIONS

Dorothy Payne Bryan

The purpose of this study was to examine the child-rearing practices of Nigerian parents residing temporarily in the metropolitan Washington, D.C. area. The primary data for this study were obtained through questionnaires and personal interviews with a small sample of forty Nigerian parents residing in the area, broken down into twenty-six Yoruba and fourteen Ibos.

A survey of the literature, oral histories, and case studies as well as personal interviews with authorities on Nigerian culture also were utilized. Data analysis included several procedures. Content analysis was used to categorize the data for the first sub-problem and the Grounded Theory approach was utilized to further investigate the salient traditional Nigerian child-rearing practices as identified and described in the literature. The Grounded Theory approach of analyzing the literature enabled the investigator to generate conceptual categories.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

In order to determine the adaptations and retentions in the traditional child-rearing practices, the following research question was posed: Do Nigerian parents residing temporarily in the metropolitan Washington, D.C. area adapt or retain their traditional Nigerian child-rearing practices? Chi-square was used to compare the traditional child-rearing practices of their families in Nigeria as reported by the respondents with the child-rearing practices currently employed by them while residing temporarily in the metropolitan Washington, D.C. area with their children born in Nigeria and the United States.

In this study data were not categorized or controlled along finer distinctions of ethnic, residential background, sex or other demographic/socio-economic variables; hence, the observations are general and preliminary in nature. Within this framework seven child-rearing categories were analyzed.

CATEGORY I: PREGNANCY

The attitudes held by the majority of respondents did not differ from those of their Nigerian families. The attitudes were that children are welcome and are an extension of the entire community. While 100 percent thought children were welcome in Nigeria, almost one-quarter of the respondents here were anxious about

child-bearing or did not want children. The reasons given by the respondents included apprehension, not ready for the responsibility, in school and would have preferred to have waited a while. Fifty-five percent of the respondents concurred with literature that sex and diet taboos are observed during pregnancy and through the weaning period by their families in Nigeria. However, 32 percent indicated that their families observed food taboos. Of the fourteen families that had children in Nigeria, just over half stated that they had observed either sexual or food-related taboos. Of those families with children born in the United States, only 18 percent observed any taboos. There was a significant difference in the way traditional pregnancy customs and beliefs were practiced in Nigeria and the way they were practiced in the United States.

Delivery Beliefs and Customs

Although the literature stated that traditional religious ceremonies accompanied a birth, only 33 percent of the sample agreed that these ceremonies took place in their families in Nigeria. Fifteen percent did not know. All (13), except one of the families with children born in Nigeria, practiced a traditional ceremony at child-birth, while only 18 percent of the respondents who had children born in Nigeria practiced a ceremony in the United States.

revealed that there were no significant changes in the traditional practices regarding naming.

CATEGORY III: FEEDING

Feeding and Weaning Practices; Bottle and Breast Feeding

Adaptations were made by the respondents in their method of feeding their youngest child while in metropolitan Washington, D.C. area, as bottle feeding was the principle mode of feeding. The children were not fed every time they cried, but were placed on a feeding schedule. None of the respondents breast fed longer than a year and a half. Five of the respondents stated a bitter chemical was applied to the breast to wean the child and six weaned by using the bottle. The literature says weaning is gradual in Nigeria, yet the majority of the sample (60 percent) said it was sudden. Also, 58 percent said they would have waited longer to wean in Nigeria. There was a significant difference in the way the respondent families traditionally weaned a child in Nigeria and the way they weaned the youngest child in the United States.

Feeding: Solid Foods

Solid foods were introduced by all the respondents prior to weaning. Nineteen fed their children traditional foods, while twenty-one did not. Of the fourteen that had children in Nigeria, 100 percent indi-

cated that there was a difference in how they fed their children in Nigeria and the United States. The traditional foods used as weaning foods were cornstarch pudding, yam flour, fu-fu, beans and rice. Therefore, traditional feeding practices were not retained by all of the sample. There was a significant difference in the feeding practices of those parents who reared children while living in the United States and Nigeria.

CATEGORY IV: TOILET TRAINING

The distinctive feature of toilet training by those parents whose children were born in Nigeria was the informal training methods which were utilized. Children were allowed to urinate and defecate at will. Rather than imposing a harsh schedule of place and time as is practiced in the United States, Nigerian mothers take the cues from the infant as they carry them on their backs, thus anticipating their needs and holding them over a bowl or a designated place. Sixty-eight percent stated that formal toilet training was expected to begin in Nigeria after the child was one year old and 62 percent stated that toilet training is expected to be completed between the ages of two and a half and four years. The beginning age for toilet training in the Washington, D.C. area ranged from five months to two years. Twelve of the respondents had not begun toilet training. One hundred percent of those with children born in Nigeria said that Nigerian methods of toilet

training were different from those used in the United States. The difference in toilet training by those parents who reared children in the United States and Nigeria were that toilet training was started somewhat earlier in the United States and children are scolded for accidents once formal toilet training has begun. Chi-square revealed that there was a significant difference in the age toilet training was begun in Nigeria and the United States.

CATEGORY V: DISCIPLINE

In Nigeria the father is the center of authority. In the United States, 85 percent of the sample thought the father was still the authority; however, 15 percent said authority either was shared or, in one respondent's opinion, the wife was the authority. Seventy percent of the respondents felt that the methods of punishment were the same in the United States as in Nigeria, but 30 percent felt there was less physical punishment, restriction of privileges and isolation. The method currently being used in the United States by twelve of the respondents was reasoning. Eleven of the respondents stated that they openly disagreed with their spouses in regard to punishment. Discipline was described by the majority of the respondents as moderate.

CATEGORY VI: CIRCUMCISION

There was no significant difference as circumcision was performed on all of the male children who

were born in the United States. Sixty percent of the respondents stated that clitoridectomy, an operation traditionally performed on female children in Nigeria, was not done by their families in Nigeria. Clitoridectomy was performed on three of the children born in Nigeria. The operation was not performed on the females born in the United States.

CATEGORY VII: RITES OF PASSAGE

Rites of Passage, a ceremony that traditionally marks the passage from childhood to adulthood, was not practiced by the Nigerian parents who had any of their children with them here in the United States. This ceremony is practiced only in traditional Nigerian culture and is apparently losing importance there. Sixty percent of the respondents stated that this ceremony is not performed by their families in Nigeria. The age that the ceremony traditionally takes place is determined biologically and not chronologically; therefore, the age that this ceremony is traditionally performed could not be determined.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In each society there are certain rules which govern the education and behavior of a child. What may be acceptable behavior in one culture may not be accepted in a new environment and *vice versa*. When a family changes its cultural milieu one of the most

obvious changes which takes place is its child-rearing practices. This is an important factor that may affect the behavior and character of each individual child and his/her parents.

In the traditional cultures of Nigeria certain child-rearing practices are observed. Generally these practices are deeply grounded in the religious beliefs, social structure, the ambience and scale of society. Training and traditional education are informal and tend to emphasize the group values more than autonomy and independence. Emphasis on social achievement is not strong. Here in the United States as well as the urban sectors of their homeland, Nigerian children and their parents are caught in the conflict created by the coexisting cross-pressure of traditionalism and modernization. More specifically, they participate in the complexity of ongoing changes in family relations. As Buchi Eme Cheta puts it in the *Joy of Motherhood*:

So weeks later when Nnu Ego sang and rocked her new child Oshia on her knees, she was more confident... She might not have any money to supplement her husband's income, but were they not in a white man's world where it was the duty of the father to provide for his family? In Ibuza, women made a contribution, but in urban Lagos, men had to be the sole providers; this new setting robbed the woman of her useful role. Nnu Ego told herself that... She had been trying to be traditional in a modern urban setting. It was because she wanted to be a woman of Ibuza in a town like Lagos that she lost her child. This time she was going to play it according to the new rules.

The emergence of nontraditional social, techno-

logical and economic factors especially in the urban centers has introduced new concepts of personal freedom, sexual division of labor, and public behavior for women (and men), some of which complicate, if not counter, rural folkways and older mores.

In a nontraditional setting such as the United States, there are other observable influences that impact on the traditional Nigerian child-rearing practices, for example, conflict of parenting roles and changing role of the wife and children who are now not only questioning but defying ascribed male authority, tradition and long standing cultural values and mores. In the traditional Nigerian society it is the women who have the major responsibility for the rearing of children, but in the United States this usually changes. Without the traditional family support system and the increased employment of women outside of the home, both parents must assume their fair share of responsibility for the rearing of their children. These changing influences and behavioral patterns also affect the personalities and self-images of children as a result of the conflict with their former cultural value system. As children assimilate into the new environment, they may become more independent and develop their values apart and different from the strong Nigerian family tradition.

Until recently the numbers of Nigerians coming to the United States have not been numerous enough to

attract much documentation. It is significant to note, however, the number of Nigerian students arriving in this country is now increasing. It is estimated that some twelve thousand students may arrive in the United States sometime within the next two years. In this new cultural milieu they will be subjected to opposing pressures, toward the acculturation of American values on one hand and the retention of Nigerian traditions on the other. The problem of acculturation versus retention are further compounded for Nigerian families in the American urban milieu because of the temporariness of their stay. In such a situation there will probably be an increase in stress and strain due to conflicts between the traditional patterns of male dominance vis-a-vis the lack of economic security, the shift in female roles, the absence of extended families, religious and other support institutions, and the added problem of educating children in a different society already marked by its general hostility and alienation toward blacks.

Unlike the earlier waves of European immigrants who migrated to the United States in search of economic security, and beyond those who may have remained or come to this country to escape the hostilities and hardships of the Civil War, Nigerians come for one of three principal reasons: 1) to seek an education, 2) to accompany their spouses, or 3) to perform diplomatic or technical service for the Nigerian government. In the majority then, they are sojourners, in that their roots are still

in Nigeria and their stay is short term. In addition they are in constant communication with their homeland, interact with other more recently arrived Nigerians, thus retaining linkage and identity as aliens.

The findings of this study have raised very serious questions, some of which are yet to be answered because of the significance of their implications for women, in particular. First, what impact will the exposure to a highly technical culture experiencing its own crises and conflicts over the definition of sex and marital roles have on the readaptability of Nigerian women who return to their country? Secondly, what effect will this exposure have on Nigerian children, especially females, who must resettle in their homeland as it struggles with conflicts of modernization versus traditionalism?

Many of these women and children in particular have been exposed to a different form of lifestyle while living in the United States. In Nigeria, the emphasis is on the extended family and the community while abroad this emphasis changes to that of the nuclear family. In addition, children reared here have been exposed to nursery schools and babysitters that have imposed other forms of expected behavior. In Nigerian society child-rearing practices are part of the traditions; they are culturally learned and culturally transmitted. Proper modes of behavior have been previously established for each member of society based upon traditional beliefs

and religion. In the United States this usually changes. Here the trend has moved from the father as the center of authority; the husbands and fathers are expected to assume greater responsibility for the rearing of their children. These women and children, females in particular, upon their return to Nigeria will be faced with the decision of either readjusting their child-rearing practices or conforming to the previous patterns. Their readjustment and resettlement in Nigeria could create for many of them new conflicts, i.e., methods of child-rearing, marital and parental roles, family size and planning, and occupational roles and careers of women.

While the study opens up an entirely new area for speculation, the questions it raises may be applicable also to the wealthy class, professionals and transitional sectors now residing in urban, technologically advancing parts of Nigeria. In his book *Growing Up in Nigerian Culture*, Ngwabia Uha said that he found little or no rural/urban child-rearing practices of Nigerians due to the close ties city dwellers maintain with their home villages. He did find, however, that there were differences among city dwellers along socioeconomic classes and the impact of western technology had begun to have its impact on the practices of families of higher socioeconomic levels. These latter enjoy better housing, better eating and better recreational facilities. The educated mothers wean their children earlier,

bottle feed them more, use scheduled feeding rather than the demand schedule of the uneducated mothers and those of the lower socioeconomic level.

There is also a change in the role of women due to the increased levels of education and employment opportunities. This means that breast feeding is limited, if any, since the mother is working and bottle feeding with prepared formulas has greater status. Also the frequent contact that was traditionally between the mother and infant becomes limited. Maids and mother surrogates are not likely to be as educated or "Westernized" as the biological mother, introducing potential for family conflicts or more complex child socialization problems.

Some of these changes are already observable among Nigerian women in the United States. Some perhaps they brought with them; others were likely acquired or reinforced here. Moreover, it is likely that if these female immigrants were not already of the highly educated, urban, professional classes that many will be upon their return. It is open to speculation, therefore, as to how marginal or mainstream their family behavior will be seen upon their return, how anticipatory or alienating their exposure to United States urban life will have been, and how much they themselves can and will be able to engage in smooth selective readjustment and behavior switching to meet prevailing prac-

tices of the specific place, people, class situation or age group to which they will return in Nigeria.

CARIBBEAN WOMEN AND THE BRAIN DRAIN

In addressing ourselves to the problem of women and the brain drain in the Caribbean, we are acknowledging the development of a significant female professional and intellectual group. The development of this group is largely due to the increased migration of West Indians to North America. Like their male counterparts, the females are equally attracted to the lures of higher education and its greater accessibility in the metropole. The point we want to emphasize here, however is that when this education of West Indian women is combined with an increased consciousness of being professionalized, self-reliant females, in contrast to their depressed status in West Indian society, it is not difficult to see why some of them would engage in a form of self-imposed exile from their native lands... However, the decision to withhold our services from our respective countries does not solve anything.

Donna Gray¹

¹See Donna Gray, "The Impact of Higher Education and Feminism on Women in the Brain Drain," in *The Brain Drain from the West Indies and Africa*, Norma Niles and Trevor G. Gordon (eds.). East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, West Indian Students Association, 1977, pp. 122-127.

BLACK, FEMALE, AND FOREIGN-BORN:

A STATEMENT

Barbara T. Christian

I left the Virgin Islands and came to the United States for a specific reason -- to go to college. I had no intention at that time of remaining in the United States, although at fifteen I was not particularly concerned about whether I would return home. I had felt restricted on a small island and couldn't wait to know more about the wide world that I had read so much about in books. That I went to the United States rather than England or the University of the West Indies (where most West Indians went for higher education in 1959 to a large extent determined some of the important decisions I would make later in life.

My choosing to come to the United States was not surprising because the Virgin Islands were an American possession. We were taught to see the United States as a great country; England as a dying one. In every way possible we Virgin Islanders were encouraged to view ourselves not as West Indians but as Americans; if not as full-fledged Americans, certainly better off than British West Indians or "aliens", as we called them.

Yet when I came to the United States, I found

what I had known intellectually, but hardly experienced: Black Americans were "aliens" in their own society. Of course I had experienced racism at home, especially the heavy emphasis placed on skin shade and hair texture; a reality that haunted my adolescence. At home, however, black people were in the majority and black culture held sway even if some considered it inferior. In contrast, upon arriving in the United States, I found that my place was not defined by the family I came from, my sex, appearance or ambition, but by my race. This was clear, from the almost nonexistent number of blacks at my college (most of whom were males brought there to play football and basketball) as well as from the clearly held belief that no black, especially no black female, could possibly be as "egg-headed" as obviously I was. But because I was perceived by Americans not as an American but as a foreigner, I was seen as superior to native-born American blacks; an attitude I bitterly resented. In addition, there were even fewer West Indians than there were Afro-Americans on my campus -- and all of them were male, oriented to extremely practical upwardly-mobile occupations. As a result, I found myself drawn more and more towards African-Americans.

That tendency was strengthened even more by the rise of the Civil Rights Movement that was occurring during my college years. The father of my best friend at college was an ardent supporter of Martin Luther King. On my trips to her home in Tennessee I experi-

enced Jim Crow and, even more important to me, witnessed the way in which African-Americans were viewed as inferior. I also experienced the music and the literature they had created. As a student who was moving towards literature as a philosophical embodiment of a culture, I found in African-American literature what I had not found at home: a literature that had a tradition of struggle, which was flourishing and taken seriously, at least by Southern blacks. It seemed to me that nothing of such importance was happening at home. In fact the Virgin Islanders I knew were holding tautly the view that racism did not exist and that American and Western ideas were the highest in the world.

Ironically, even as I experienced the restrictions of racism in the United States, as a young *woman*, I felt freer than I did at home. The African-American women I met were more involved with social and political issues, saw themselves as independent rather than subsumed into their families and did not see marriage as their primary goal. By the time I went to graduate school, I already was well on the way to acquiring a sense of myself as an Afro-American. I had hardly met any West Indians during those years, certainly none who were interested in the larger issues which went beyond the personal betterment of themselves.

It was when I went to graduate school in New York City that my identity as a Caribbean person became an issue, for in New York City, there were many West

Indians from every part of the Caribbean. In New York, West Indians were often viewed by African-Americans as threats and were referred to variously as black Jews, as clannish, as intellectual prigs, etcetera. Again, contradictions assailed me, for while some West Indians were socially involved, others saw themselves as superior to African-Americans and/or were bent on being "professional" types. Socially, such people viewed me as a nice West Indian girl with some education who might enhance their position as a doctor or lawyer -- the notion of helpmate which I was increasingly bent upon rejecting; the concept of "class" which I saw as politically backward.

By that time I became focused on the development of Afro-American Studies which I saw as a means of conceptualizing the positive connections between Africans, Caribbean people and African-Americans without diminishing the important variations of societies and cultures among them. Precisely because so much of the development of Afro-American Studies depended on having access to resources in the metropole I decided to stay in the United States. Whether that sense of myself as part of a larger body of progressive blacks from the Continent, the islands and the United States is a suitable resolution for a person such as myself bred both as West Indian and an American will depend, to a large extent I believe, on how the concepts of race and class, and gender are socially related in this century

-- whether fragmentation based on one's origin or class continue or whether we develop new ideas that will transform our societies. By intellectually confronting the issues of race as a social phenomenon, Afro-American Studies and other related areas of study, of necessity, will have to also confront issues of class and gender. In such a pursuit, my experience as a West Indian American woman may prove useful.

MA, I REMEMBER

(Dedicated to all Caribbean immigrants
who remember their homeland)

Eugenia A. Franklin-Springer

Ma, it wouldn't be an easy thing for me to come back home
If I wasn't rock bottom sure that that is where I belong
I miss you, Ma, I miss you
I remember how you and me
Spend so much time together
So much time
I remember from way back
Way, way back
When they used to ration rice
And Mame used to carry my sister and me
All up the trace, through cane fields
Taking short cuts
To the Cane Farm Chinese shop
I remember when the war planes
Used to fly overhead
In formation
And the Yankees dressed in khaki
Used to run behind the hedges
Playing war games
Ma, you were there all the time with me
I remember Daddy spending nights and days
At the workbench
And me
Running up the road
In the hot sun
And coming back with an enamel dish
Full of water and the common plums
For Daddy and me to snack on
While Daddy built the family furniture
And taught me how to live life properly

I remember trying to play big sister
 To the boy next door, little brother
 And how the boy scratched my face
 With his fingernails

And tell me to go and get my own brother
 Ma, I remember, I remember
 I remember falling in love, Ma
 And thinking that the boy I loved
 Was a heavenly being
 I remember how excited I felt
 When he only watched me
 And how dejected I felt
 When he

left me

Ma, you were there all the time ---
 I remember how the sun used to get hot
 And the rain used to pelt down
 How the mosquitoes used to be a bother
 I remember how everybody used to know their
 Neighbor

And there was always something in the backyard
 To cook
 I remember how I used to get fed-up reading
 All those school books
 I remember, Ma, I remember
 And Ma, now I want to come back to you
 Some of your other children asking me if I crazy
 If I think I could adjust
 Things with you, not as they used to be
 Things not easy down there as they are up here
 A lot of killing, and burning, and striking, and
 Hard times
 Ma, they must be forget where they come from
 But I remember, I remember

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LATINAS LEAD THE WAY*

Lucy M. Cohen

INTRODUCTION

In the past, the typical pioneers of immigration to the United States of America have been men. Today, approximately two-thirds of the Central and South American newcomers are women. These Latinas are not widows or young single persons who venture on long voyages to the promised land. Rather, they are mostly women who established households in their places of origin, and then left children behind, under the care of maternal grandmothers or other kin.

Drawn from such countries as Guatemala, El Salvador, and the Andean nations, these immigrants, both male and female, constitute approximately 20 percent of the Spanish-speaking population of the United States. As a group, they are among the most recent newcomers from

*This article is adapted from a study sponsored in part by the Center for Minority Mental Health Programs, National Institute of Mental Health (Grant 21725) and completed by the author as a fellow of RIIES, 1976-1978. For related publications by Lucy Cohen see "The Female Factor in Resettlement," *Society* 4 (September/October 1977): 27-30; and *Culture, Disease, and Stress among Latino Immigrants* (Washington, D.C.: Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies, Smithsonian Institution, 1979). Also Lucy Cohen and Carmen Fernandez, "Ethnic Identity and Psychocultural Adaptation of Spanish-Speaking Families," *Child Welfare* 53 (1974): 413-422.

Latin America to the United States and they include persons who enter as transients, those with permanent residence, and undocumented peoples.

Since the majority of these post-1965 immigrants have entered on the basis of family ties to established residents of the United States, it is, therefore, imperative for policy-makers to consider the impact of immigration on these families or family members. This article presents (1) characteristics of family and work life, (2) the management of stress and illness of Central and South American newcomers who, as indicated before, are mostly female, and (3) indications for social action and social policy.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FAMILY AND WORK LIFE

Most of the recent Latin immigrants are of working class background and they have entered the country to improve the family's socioeconomic status. They come highly motivated by the belief that self-sacrifice is necessary to attain the desired goal of a better life for their children. Separation from home, however, is not the first major life hurdle which an immigrant has faced. Latinas learn that throughout life there are problems of one kind or another. Success consists in a willingness to face each problem and to overcome it. Planning for the future and hard work are central values which enable immigrants to master the series of steps

involved in entry and settlement. The containment of feeling is also important, particularly for immigrants. Latinas cope with stress-inducing situations through the practice of *controlarse* (control of the self) and *sobreponerse* (to overcome oneself). Thus, these immigrants do not fit a prevalent stereotype that the peoples of Latin American heritage conform passively to unkind fate. Instead, they contain their feelings, face difficulties, and work hard to master them.

A woman who acts as a leader in migration engages in careful planning, particularly as to the caretaking of children left behind and of those brought to this country. The initiative exercised by women as they become the organizers and counselors for other relatives who follow them to this country can be noted in the case of Magdalena Torres.¹

She works as a beautician, although she entered as a domestic with an American family with whom she had worked in her home country. Six months after her arrival, she brought one of her sisters to Washington, and a second sister followed a year later. Three adult nephews -- sons of her sisters -- entered next. She then succeeded in convincing her mother to come to visit them. She and the two sisters and their families settled in apartments located in the same block. Magdalena and her husband were married in the United States but they had known each other in their home country. Both had children by previous marriages. Her husband left his children by

the first marriage in his home with their maternal relatives, while Magdalena brought her child to the United States after she had settled here.

In some respects migration patterns of undocumented workers differ from those of legal immigrants. Women who cross borders without documents, do not usually bring young children with them, since this is considered too grave a risk. Such mothers bring their children to Washington subsequent to their own entry and only when they feel that their job and living situation are stable enough to permit it.

Immigrant Households and Relatives Left Behind.

The households of immigrants are flexible units which expand and contract in accordance with the stages of entry and settlement and the life cycle stages of family members. Changes and realignments take place in households and families, as evidence of the shifts involved in migration and settlement. Nevertheless, as immigrants settle in the host society, they establish nuclear or extended households composed of blood relatives and kin by marriage, and connected by ties of propinquity in neighborhoods. Information about marital status, children's residence, and their care, is crucial to understanding the ways in which Latinas and Latinos reestablish themselves in the host society.

The extended household is characteristic largely of the mothers who are alone with children and other

relatives. This group of mothers includes those who have never married, the separated, the divorced, and the widowed. Both the nuclear and extended families, are sources of mutual help in such tasks as child care, the search for jobs, or counseling for problems of illness. The strength of these ties may be noted in the case of single mothers. Single parents, together with their extended kin in the United States and those left behind, have strong bonds of reciprocity. Although the immigrant mothers who are single are the least educated and lowest salaried, they retain economic independence, and few seek public assistance among the eligible in a city such as Washington, D.C.

Children in the home country who are in the stages of early and late childhood tend to be cared for, almost exclusively, by the maternal grandmothers. Upon the immigrant mother's departure, a child moves to the maternal grandmother's household. This change of residence often means contact with a wide group of maternal kin. Thus, the availability of support by their own mothers has made it possible for women to lead the movements of families and communities into this country. Furthermore, the mother's separation from children in the early and late stages of childhood serves to solidify the child's kinship ties with the maternal line since care is almost exclusively done with this set of kin. Although there are usually not many adolescents left in the home

country, those left behind reside with other maternal kin, notably maternal aunts, or older married sisters.

Immigrant parents send regular remittances home which fluctuate according to the type of work but range from a low of ten dollars to a top amount of fifty dollars a month per household (not per child). I visited some of the homes with children of immigrants in Colombia and El Salvador. The households of Esperanza Lopez and Prudencia Sanchez (parents of undocumented workers in Washington) exemplify contrasts in child care patterns, influenced in part, by the ages of the children left at home, by socioeconomic status, and by views about the meaning of migration.

Esperanza Lopez and her husband lived by themselves but were caring for their 3 year-old grandchild. Their daughter and son-in-law had left for Washington a year after the birth of this child. Esperanza had hired a young maid to care for and play with the youngster while she and her husband tended to their business enterprises in town. They hoped that their daughter would find some way to take the child to the States, or, if not, that the daughter and her husband would return to their home town.

Prudencia Sanchez lived with her husband, one unmarried son, and eight grandchildren seventeen years and under who belonged to three of her children who had gone to work in the United States. During the visits, she expressed some concern about her ability to cope with recurrent intestinal

problems and the signs of weakness (*debilidad*) found among some of the youngsters. She also discussed her own long-standing problem with her nerves. Her hopes were that, as the children got older, they would join their parents in Washington. As a matter of fact, the year following my visit to this home, the oldest child, an 18 year-old girl and her new husband did come to Washington as undocumented workers.

Work Commitment, Aspirations, and Mobility

Most of the immigrants enter with the goal of working in order to attain higher levels of living for themselves and their families. Among working class Latinas and Latinos, there are marked contrasts in educational levels by sex. Most of the men have completed their education at the primary school level, in contrast to the women who tend not to have finished primary school.

Men and women tend to work in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs but there is greater occupational mobility for men than for women. Furthermore, Latinas who have been previously employed in their home countries tend to be underemployed in this country to a greater extent than men. Women tend to fall in the \$4,000 or less annual income category while men are concentrated in the \$4,000-5,999 group.

Most men and women work full time and of the full time workers a sizeable proportion hold down "moon-

lighting" jobs as well. Those who work extra time are usually the immigrants with more limited knowledge of English. Women who work overtime are mostly single parents with an extended household. The men who work overtime have working wives and are under heavy expenses in purchasing homes.

The patterns of work and household organization of those who work full time and also "moon-light" are illustrated in the cases of Estela Leon and the Ibañez family. Estela is a single mother living with her three daughters (22, 20 and 14 years-old respectively) a female cousin, and a grandson. Her two teenage sons remain under the care of an aunt in Central America. This relative has cared also for the children of all of Estela's siblings who have emigrated to Washington, until the parents are ready to send for them.

Estela's annual earnings fall in the \$3,000-3,999 range. She works a Monday-Friday schedule, which starts every day with a 6:00 a.m.-3:00 p.m. shift in a cafeteria. She comes home and leaves again for the 6-10 p.m. shift in a janitorial service where she cleans buildings. Her 22 year-old daughter works as a waitress, supporting her year-old infant, and thereby helps with the expenses of the household. The 20 year-old daughter is in a special training program to improve her clerical skills. The three women are saving money to bring the remaining two boys to Washington.

Among the married men with a heavy workload, the Ibañez family offers perspectives on their orientation to hard work. Nicanor Ibañez is a white-collar office administrator who comes home at 5:00 p.m. and has half an hour to change and to have dinner. He walks into the house in his suit and emerges with levis and tennis shoes which are the typical dress of workers in his janitorial service. His wife works part time and their 11 year-old daughter assumes responsibility for the preparation of dinner and the management of the household. The Ibañez couple is working these extra hours to save money toward the purchase of a new home.

MANAGEMENT OF STRESS AND ILLNESS

A dynamic way of understanding relations between demographic and sociocultural characteristics and adaptation to the new setting is shown through examination of the prevalence of psychiatric symptoms. There are, to date, few community-based studies of social, cultural and demographic characteristics and psychiatric symptomatology among peoples of Latin American heritage in the United States. In research which has drawn on the work of A. and D. Leighton and their collaborators² I have had particular interest in the identification of these patterns by such categories as age groups, socioeconomic levels, organization of the living environment, and sex of the subject. I assume that the more recently settled

immigrant is at greater risk than the established resident because of the demands of adaptation. Furthermore, the unsettled undocumented worker status is believed to create insecurity and anxiety.³

Demands of Adaptation and Prevalence of Stress

As expected, the groups of recently established Latinos experience higher levels of stress. Most of those with higher levels of stress use some type of health care resource, usually a private physician or hospital facility. None of these adults consult mental health agencies. Some of the mothers whose children have presented behavior or learning problems in the schools have been referred to mental health agencies but none make active use of these services.

With regard to the immigrant's sex and responses to stress, men and women in general do not show major differences in mental health risk. However, there are factors about length of residence and household organization which influence the responses of specific categories of immigrants. Men who are long established, living in nuclear families tend to be the best adapted, in contrast to the recently arrived male migrants who are the highest stressed of all groups. It appears that separation from families and the unsettled status of the undocumented male worker contribute to this contrast between recent arrivals and the settled men. On the other hand, women

do not show as marked contrasts in stress by length of residence as do the men. For many women, the early period of entry faces them with separation from children and spouses and the tasks of initiating the reestablishment of households. The cultural expectation that Latino mothers are to exercise greater emotional self-reliance than men contributes to women's adaptive strengths during entry.

Educational level is an aspect of importance. Persons with incomplete primary school, as well as those with postsecondary education offer evidence of higher levels of stress than persons in the middle ranges, composed mostly of those who have completed primary school or have had some high school education. As in other studies conducted in metropolitan centers of the United States, low educational status appears to contribute to the experience of stress. However, an explanation is required for my findings which show that the small best-educated group, drawn principally from the long established immigrants, is comparable to those with limited education. There is little information about the psychological status of immigrants of Latin American heritage with specialized education and skills. For those with such qualifications, it may well be that the frustration associated with gaps between skills and achievement accounts in part for the higher than expected levels of stress. As expected, persons who want to change occupations experience greater stress.

These findings are emphasized, inasmuch as they indicate important relations between work and mental health both for recent immigrants and the settled Latinos. Plans for change within a job, or between jobs are central topics of concern in the lives of a sizeable proportion of respondents. The goal of holding a single, sufficiently rewarding job is difficult to attain, and the strain of achieving a satisfactory income through multiple jobs is great. It seems clear that the mental health implications of the goodness of fit between occupational activity, aspirations, and mobility, which have received limited attention in the literature about peoples of Latino heritage in the United States should be given increased attention.

Health Problems, Practitioners, and Multicultural Traditions

Good health is highly valued by Latino immigrants. The typical phrase *vale más la salud que el tesoro* (health is worth more than treasure) underscores the central place of this theme in their lives. Most researchers agree that there is no single integrated Latino theory of disease. Latin American popular medicine is eclectic in nature. An important characteristic of this belief system is its capacity to assimilate practices from various popular and biomedical concepts, spiritualism, patent medicine, homeopathic therapy, and the professional biomedical traditions are combined to form a dynamic system.

Popularly held explanations for illness, the wide range of practitioners consulted for health problems, and typical curing approaches, reflect this multicultural character. This can be noted through examination of the types of practitioners Latinas use for various types of health problems, and the commonly found processes through which cultural traditions are combined during the course of management of illness.

The most commonly reported complaints of illness are aches of the joints and muscular discomforts, gynecological complaints, various gastrointestinal disorders, and nervous stresses. In addition, frequently recurring illnesses include headaches, respiratory problems, and complaints associated with the circulation of the blood and the heart. Women report headaches to a greater extent than men, while men describe recurrent gastrointestinal ailments more often than women.

The type of practitioners consulted for symptoms of illness is associated with the nature of a health problem. Common gastrointestinal and respiratory symptoms, headaches, and problems attributed to the hot/cold syndrome, are generally treated by the respondent herself, her kin and/or friends, and employers. Symptoms linked with chronic muscular aches including arthritis, nerves, and skin problems tend to be treated both by professional practitioners and the home. Gynecological problems, certain digestive disorders such as persistent "burning in the upper portion of the stomach," and complaints

identified as involving the heart are almost always taken to physicians.

Spanish-speaking physicians in private practice or in the outpatient services of private hospitals, are by far, the most frequently used resource from the professional health care system. Latinas have limited contacts with public health personnel. This pattern is of special interest since men and women have limited income and few are covered by medical insurance. Furthermore, Latinas and Latinos who are undocumented workers use the same types of medical resources for their symptoms of illness as do other immigrants. This information is pertinent in relation to public inquiries regarding the health and social problems of undocumented workers. At local and national public hearings, practitioners have expressed concern about the perceived tendency of undocumented workers to avoid the use of needed medical resources. Latino undocumented workers are believed to fear apprehension by immigration authorities. Other inquiring groups, on the other hand, raise questions about the opposite dimension. They ask whether undocumented workers place a burden on publicly supported services. In actuality, Latinas and Latinos in an urban area such as Washington share common concepts of health problems and of patterns of seeking care, regardless of immigration status.

The limited use of public health services by Latinas is due, in part, to the scarcity of facilities

and personnel for the management of the problems of adult medicine. An important aspect, however, is that physicians in private practice characteristically avoid referral of their patients to publicly supported clinics or hospitals since these facilities have a lower reputation than privately sponsored resources.

As Latinas settle in the new setting they draw on various popular and biomedical traditions to prevent and cure illness. Typically, there are several ways to mold these traditions. First of all, rapid adaptation to new life ways means that Latinas involve themselves in continuous *risk taking*. They rely upon "on the spot" cues to guide them about the expected proper behavior in new settings. They continuously adopt overt behavioral forms and use key symbols, without necessarily understanding their full meaning. When asked, for example, "Do you suffer from *pression alta*?" (high blood pressure), Latinas may respond in the affirmative without knowing, in fact, what the question means. They offer the answers which they believe a physician expects of them and they subsequently search for explanations in the context which permits greater freedom of inquiry, such as their households.

Latinas may, furthermore, *fuse* various popular and biomedical traditions without conflict, to offer rational explanations for etiology and health practices which are poorly understood and communicated to them, as in the case of Narcisa Duarte, a woman who was treated

for cancer of the cervix. This woman, like other Latinas, believed that a lowered blood temperature (*enfriamiento de la sangre*) was considered abnormal and conducive to dangerous illness. Narcisa speculated whether her "tumor" had been caused by a cooling of the blood. When she was hospitalized for a diagnostic work-up, she expressed strong anxiety about the many tubes of blood which were drawn for analysis. She had fears about the impact of this "loss of blood" on her prognosis, and she harbored doubts about the diagnostic value of these procedures. Hospital staff did not volunteer explanations about these blood tests or their results. She eventually resigned herself, believing that this hospital probably followed the practice of selling the blood of poor patients, which, in her opinion, was the common practice of hospitals in her country of origin.

Finally, as immigrants gain new information, they adapt old and new belief systems by reinterpreting and reclassifying symptoms as they fit the new life situation. Rafaela Gil, for example, had suffered from pains of the chest and of one shoulder. She had felt feelings of asphyxiation described as an inability to expel gases. She also had experienced periodic chills. Prior to her entry to the United States, she had similar sensations which she attributed to *cólico de aire* (air colic). She now describes these symptoms as "blood pressure" problems due to her nerves. She has learned this language in the host society and has adopted the new vocabulary to fit

symptoms she previously classified with the language of her popular medical tradition.

Like Narcisa Duarte, Rafaela has become adept in the use of new language from medical settings. However, both face the reality that practitioners tend not to offer explanations about etiology or specific communication of laboratory findings. The household, therefore, remains as the central place within which to develop concepts of etiology, prevention, and cure.

Latino popular medicine in Washington, compared to its counterpart in Latin America, has fewer intermediaries from scientific medicine such as pharmacists. Drug-store personnel in small towns of urban centers in Latin America whence these immigrants had come, are active sources of health advice. They had listened to the symptoms of clients and offered counsel about new remedies or the latest antibiotic, sedative, or contraceptive. In contrast, the Washington pharmacist works largely behind counters and glass partitions and so is removed from direct contact with customers. He clearly limits his activities to the preparation of the prescription ordered by physicians. This increased regulation and role specialization in the medical professions in the United States has inclined Latinas to use nonmedical settings, such as the household, as central contexts within which to ask, to learn, and continually to reformulate their notions about illness, its prevention and its treatment.

During my field work in Colombia and El Salvador, I became an active link in the two-way system of advice-seeking and advice-giving. Pablo Suarez, the father of Eugenia Suarez, a 30 year-old food service worker in Washington, asked me to bring back to her various medicines for arthritis which had been recommended by a respected pharmacist in the home country. He had sent his daughter other medicines to try out and had offered extensive medical advice by correspondence. Upon first learning of Eugenia's symptoms, he had consulted the pharmacist about the types of medicines which should be used for arthritis. Since Eugenia had a history of digestive disorders, Don Pablo had taken careful note of the pharmacist's classification of medicines which had mild or strong side effects on digestion. He had also sent her a special *manteca de culebra* preparation (snake oil or lard) which he considered the "best" ointment for joint pains. He did not buy it in a drugstore because he knows that viper-based products sold in pharmacies are not "authentic." He asked a friend from his home town to secure the oil of a recently killed viper. The friend also brought him *sebo de cabra* (goat grease) which was highly recommended for massaging the arm and leg joints. Pablo had put these ointments in plastic jars and sent them by airmail to Eugenia in Washington.

Eugenia took the medicines and massaged herself with the special ointments. She also tried various medicines prescribed at an outpatient clinic in

Washington. In addition she liked a special herbal infusion suggested by a woman who acted "like a mother" to her in Washington. It was she who suggested that these teas would help Eugenia with the retention and balance of body liquids required to *mantenerse bien* (remain well) and to restore the proper volume of uric acid to her body. Herbs for the tea were found in the Washington countryside and the gardens of two well-known city hotels.

IMPLICATIONS

As increasing proportions of Central and South Americans enter the United States, they reshape the character of life in this country, as well as the structure of communities in their home countries. Three areas should receive special consideration in policy formulation: (1) the impact of female leadership in migration; (2) the call for integrated medical and psychiatric outreach programs; and (3) the multicultural character of sociocultural change.

Impact of Female Leadership

One of the most significant present-day trends is that women play a central role in the international movement of peoples in the Americas. Yet, they have been neglected in deliberations of Western Hemisphere immigration policies in the United States. Latinas who enter

as the relatives of an immigrant and those who lead in resettlement are committed to activity in full-time work soon after their entry. This is highly significant since they are in the labor force to a greater extent than either the Latinas left behind or women in the United States labor force. Stereotypes of the Latina as a dependent and passively-oriented female who does not work outside the home have led us to neglect the reality that she is an active self-reliant person who does not stay behind to wait for husbands and brothers to help her with moves to new countries. Feminist leaders in the United States should pay increasing attention to this immigrant woman's ability to master the tasks of change in our rapidly evolving urban societies.

A second point about the Latina's migration is that she resettles during her active child-raising cycle. To accomplish this, she relies heavily on her bonds with maternal kin for child care. For a Latina who enters as an undocumented worker, in particular, the selection of substitute caretakers is essential since she may leave children behind for long periods, or at least, until they reach late adolescence. Substitute caretaking is an institutionalized relationship which is central for Latinas who establish their ascendancy in pioneering immigrant roles.

Outreach Programs

Dissatisfaction with the limited accessibility of medical and mental health services among Latinos has become acute enough to make their provision a subject of high priority in local and national programs. Recommendations have been made for the increased use of bilingual and bicultural personnel in the provision of these services. Limited attention has been given, however, to the strategic role which Spanish-speaking physicians in private practice play among immigrants who settle in our urban areas. Although handicapped by meager financial resources and lack of medical insurance, Latinos turn to these practitioners, nevertheless, for their health and mental health problems.

A crucial aspect in the use of these physicians is that they are sought after for physical and psychological distresses whereas mental health resources, even when accessible, are not viewed with equal priority. Latinas closely link physical and psychological symptoms and they seek specialists to relieve them. The separate organization of our medical and psychiatric services is not attractive. Those concerned with the design of services for adult and children of Latin American heritage should consider developing models of integrated or closely coordinated health and mental health care. There should be an increased use of bilingual and bicultural personnel to serve the needs of newcomers in human service agencies

but a central aspect of their roles should be to serve as gatekeepers between systems.

Key primary care workers in public health agencies who work with Latinas and Latinos should be able to identify and work with the problems of psychological distress. As advocates for newcomers, they should also be in positions of influence within their organizations, and in the communities where changes are sought.

It should be clear, moreover, that since the tradition of private practice in medicine still plays a central role in the provision of ambulatory health services in the United States, we cannot neglect this sector in the assessment of services among minority populations. Mental health agencies, in particular, should seriously consider establishing linkages with Spanish-speaking physicians whom the Latinos choose as their first line consultants when they experience distress. Indeed, it appears as if we cannot properly identify what the unmet health and mental health needs of Latino immigrants are, until we draw on knowledge from the immigrants themselves, from the private sectors, and from our public health systems.

Sociocultural Change

There is still another challenge in understanding the ways of life of immigrant women of Latin American heritage which should alter our conceptions of what it

means to be a newcomer to our country today. Multiculturalism is a complex reality which characterizes the countries of origin of these immigrants, as well as the areas in which they are resettling. Latino women and men come from complex Third World societies which are in the midst of change to settle in cities in the United States where the unplanned crises of urban living threaten the stability of even the long-established residents.

We cannot fully understand how Latinas view their host society and how they organize their thoughts and sentiments by simple descriptions of life in the "old country" and anecdotal experiences of the fortunes and trials of settlement. I have offered illustrations of risk-taking behavior, of fusion, and of the reinterpretation and reclassification of belief systems in the health area to draw us closer to the tasks which immigrants face today as they successfully select, master, and control the alternatives in knowledge and practices found in their rapidly changing worlds. As we learn how Latinas accomplish these tasks, we should be better able to understand the dilemmas which we also share with these newcomers in our own transforming society.

NOTES

¹All names used in this article are pseudonyms.

²A.H. Leighton, *My Name is Legion* (New York: Basic Books, 1959); C.C. Hughes, M. Tremblay, R.N. Rapoport, and A.H. Leighton, *People of Cove and Woodlot* (New York: Basic Books, 1960); D.C. Leighton, J.S. Harding, D.B. Macklin, A.H. Macmillan and A.H. Leighton, *The Character of Danger* (New York: Basic Books, 1963).

³The stress measure used was a translation of the 20 question Health Opinion survey. It is particularly useful in identifying physiological or bodily symptoms which are common reactions to stress and overall reactions to stress. It is assumed that the majority of people who suffer mild psychiatric disorders associated with all kinds of environmental stress will exhibit principally these two kinds of symptoms. The questions represent a sampling of the normal initial human reactions to something perceived as dangerous or stressful. Consult Allister M. Macmillan, *The Health Opinion Survey: Technique for Estimating Prevalence of Psychoneurotic and Related Types of Disorders in Communities*. Psychological Reports 3 (Monograph Supplement 7) Grand Forks, North Dakota: Southern Universities Press, 1957, pp. 325-339.

EXPORTING CAPITAL AND IMPORTING LABOR:

THE ROLE OF WOMEN*

Saskia Sassen-Koob

INTRODUCTION

Two processes central to the contemporary phase in the development of the world capitalist system are 1) labor migrations from the periphery to the core countries and 2) migration of production plants from the core to the periphery. Women play a central role in both movements. These two processes are often perceived as unrelated. Whether this unrelatedness is rooted in their objective characteristics or is the result of the particular way in which scholars and specialists undertake their study is a question that should be on our collective research agenda. Here I would like to contribute to this question by defining some of the issues that emerge about the nature and relationship between

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these two processes (on various levels) when we look at the central role of women in them.

To that end, I will focus on two particular cases which because of their importance can be assumed to contain some of the fundamental traits of the two processes under consideration. One of these cases is the Caribbean and South American immigration to New York City, a flow that contains very large numbers of women. The other case is that of the export processing zones in periphery countries, loci of a large share of plant relocations from core countries. Women represent over 70 percent of the labor force in the export processing zones (henceforth EPZs).

Capital has sought new mechanisms and developed new modes of operation in its struggle to respond advantageously to the increased cost of production in the core. Internationalization in various forms constitutes one such response mechanism. In this case internationalization of capital or production and labor force comprises one such response mechanism. It is expressed in the form of the inverse migration of labor force from periphery to core and of production plants from core to periphery. The increased incidence of women in international migration flows to the core (e.g., New York City), and the increased employment of women in internationalized production enterprises (e.g., EPZs) can be seen, then, as two specific forms of mobilization of women or mechanisms of internationalization by capital-

ism at this stage in its development, to evade high production cost presented in the core.

In the paper I utilize the concept of production and labor internationalization as an exploratory hypothesis by which to organize pertinent information and overcome the usual separation of the two processes by many specialists as they treat them on various levels of analysis.¹ I also attempt to identify interrelated processes that underlie the experience of immigrant women in the core and that of women employed in core firms located in the periphery. Historically and at present, New York City has been a major target in the world for human migration from the periphery to the core. It is an appropriate case from which to derive background information and upon which to focus analytical attention. In fact New York City has a place of significance in both trends of expansion that are being examined in the work; namely that of 1) immigration between 1970 and 1980 during the phase of economic decline in New York City and of 2) EPZs in the areas of the world that have also generated the largest increase in migration to the United States, especially New York City.

Consequently, I will first examine the available 1980 census data on migration to New York City and compare it with the 1970 census data. Here, due to limitations in data availability, I will use as a proxy for the expansion of Third World migration the expansion in

Hispanic immigration to New York City.² In the second part I will develop the information on EPZs, with special consideration to the potential for female migration. I am using EPZs as a proxy for *direct* foreign investment, in part because information on EPZs is more readily available. This is warranted because EPZs do emerge as a mechanism to facilitate location of production units in the periphery. There is a strong correlation between the pronounced jump in direct foreign investment since the late 1960s and the jump in the numbers of EPZs during that same period: from 2 in 1965 to 53 in 1980 with an additional 25 being developed or planned.³

I. GROWTH IN THE HISPANIC POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY

The 1980 census counted 14.6 million persons of Spanish origin out of a total population of 226.5 million (Table 1). According to the census count, Hispanics represent 6.5 percent of the total population, with a considerable variation in their geographic distribution. In New York State they represent 9.4 percent of the total population and in New York City, 19.9 percent. These shares would be larger if we consider that up to 40 percent of those that gave "other" as their category are Hispanics. In estimating the overall Caribbean and South American immigration to New York City it is necessary to add a share of those counted in the category "black". The exact figures are not

TABLE 1

Population by Race and Spanish Origin
1980 Census¹

Regions	Total	White	Black ²	American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut	Asian and Pacific Islander	Other ³	Spanish origin	As % of total
United States	226,504,825	188,340,790	26,488,218	1,418,195	3,500,636	6,756,986	14,605,880	6.4
Northeast	49,136,667	42,328,154	4,848,786	78,182	559,759	1,321,786	2,604,260	5.3
New England	12,348,493	11,585,633	474,549	21,597	81,005	185,709	299,164	2.4
Middle Atlantic	36,788,174	30,742,521	4,374,237	56,585	478,054	1,136,077	2,305,110	6.2
North Central	58,853,804	52,183,794	5,336,542	248,505	389,747	695,216	1,276,400	2.1
East North Central	41,669,738	36,138,962	4,547,998	105,881	302,748	574,149	1,067,790	2.5
West North Central	17,184,066	16,044,832	788,544	142,624	86,999	121,067	208,610	1.2
South	75,349,155	58,944,057	14,041,374	372,123	469,762	1,521,839	4,473,170	5.9
South Atlantic	36,943,139	28,647,762	7,647,743	118,656	260,038	268,340	1,193,820	0.3
East South Central	14,662,882	11,699,604	2,868,268	22,454	41,041	31,515	119,315	0.8
West South Central	23,743,134	18,596,691	3,525,363	231,013	168,083	1,221,984	3,160,094	13.3
West	43,165,199	34,884,785	2,261,516	719,385	2,081,368	18,145	6,252,040	14.4
Mountain	11,368,330	9,958,545	268,660	363,169	98,416	679,540	1,441,480	12.6
Pacific	31,796,869	24,926,240	1,992,856	356,216	1,982,952	2,538,605	4,810,565	15.1

Source: Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population, Supplementary Report (1981: Table 3

1. Census results are being challenged in court.

2. Includes black immigrants.

3. It is estimated that nationally 40 percent of Spanish origin persons reported their "race" as other.

available. It is estimated that a large share of the increase in the black population of New York City, especially in Brooklyn and the Bronx, is due to Caribbean immigration.

The preliminary and court-contested 1980 Census results show a total population for New York City of 7.07 million. Of these, the census counted 1.4 million Hispanics, representing 19.9 of New York City's population. Brooklyn and the Bronx each had over 390,000 (see Table 2). Allowing for classification shifts, the 1970 Census counted 1.1 million Hispanics, representing 13 percent of New York City's population. Over the decade Hispanics have increased their share at a higher rate than their numbers according to the official count, due to population losses for the city as a whole.

Additional information on the pattern of growth of immigration from the Caribbean basin and other South American countries can be obtained from the INS reports (see Tables 3 and 4). There is little need to discuss this information here since there are various types of analyses and discussions in the migration literature. There are two significant trends for my study. One is the reversal that took place from 1969 to 1979 between Europe on the one hand and the Caribbean and South America on the other (Table 3). While in 1960 Europe provided half of all legally admitted immigrants and the Caribbean and South American countries (excluding Mexico) provided less than one-seventh (33,756), by 1979

TABLE 2

New York City Population
(1980 Census)¹

	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	ASIAN	OTHER	AMERICAN INDIAN	HISPANIC
Brooklyn	2,230,936	1,249,482	722,816	42,965	212,491	3,182	392,118
Queens	1,891,325	1,335,802	354,129	93,783	104,797	2,814	262,422
Manhattan	1,427,533	840,862	309,693	72,883	201,059	3,036	335,803
Bronx	1,169,115	554,015	371,870	15,165	225,656	2,409	396,730
Staten Island	352,121	313,534	25,616	6,709	5,879	383	18,884
New York City	7,071,030	4,293,695	1,784,124	231,505	749,882 ²	11,824	1,405,957

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980; New York City Department of City Planning, Public Law File, 94-171.

¹Census results are being challenged in court.

²This category includes a large number of Hispanics. Nationally, 40 percent of Spanish origin persons reported their "race" as other.

TABLE 3

Immigrants Admitted by Select Origin
1960, 1979

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1979</u>
Europe	138,426	60,845
Asia	24,956	189,293
Africa	2,319	12,838
Select Latin American and Caribbean Origin		
Mexico	32,684	52,096
West Indies	14,047	74,074
Central America	6,661	17,547
South America	13,048	35,344
subtotal	66,440	179,061
Totall	265,398	460,348

Source: INS, "Tabulation of Immigrants Admitted by Country of Birth" (Unpublished, 1981).

¹Listed origins do not sum up because list is not all inclusive.

TABLE 4

Immigrants Admitted by Selected Origin¹
1960, 1966, 1970, 1979

<u>Country</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1979</u>
West Indies				
Dominican Republic	756	16,503	10,807	17,519
Haiti	931	3,801	9,932	6,433
Jamaica	1,340	2,743	15,033	19,714
Central America				
El Salvador	1,019	1,415	1,698	4,479
Guatemala	627	1,584	2,130	2,583
Honduras	755	1,958	1,263	2,545
Panama	1,722	1,594	1,630	3,472
South America				
Argentina	2,878	4,414	3,443	2,856
Brazil	1,399	2,397	1,919	1,450
Colombia	2,989	9,504	6,724	10,637
Ecuador	1,576	4,111	4,410	4,383
Peru	1,657	1,474	909	4,135

Source: INS, "Tabulation of Immigrants Admitted by Country of Birth" (Unpublished, 1981)

¹Nationalities with a strong tendency to locate in New York City.

Europe provided less than one-seventh and the Caribbean and South American countries, about one-third. The other is the continued increase of legal immigrants, and hence we can assume also of illegals, during the decade of the 1970s -- the period New York City experienced severe economic decline.

Census tract data show an increase in the number of tracts which contain Hispanic residents and an increase in the tracts containing over 50 percent Hispanic residents.⁴ A comparison of census tract data for 1970 and 1980 shows that the most marked increases of the Hispanic population, both in terms of surface covered and density were in Queens and Brooklyn. The differential growth rate between 1970 and 1980 for the Hispanic population in each of the boroughs is in part a function of the large Puerto Rican populations in the Bronx (316,772) and Manhattan (185,323) in 1970, compared with Queens (33,141). And in part it is a function of the growth of the Latin and Central American immigrant populations in Queens and Brooklyn. Brooklyn is a slightly different case, since it had a large population of Puerto Ricans in 1970 (271,769) and has also had a major influx of South and Central American immigrants. From the geographic patterns of the expansion of the Hispanic population in Brooklyn it would seem that this is in part an overspill effect from Queens. To some extent the expansion of Queen's Hispanic neighborhoods involves the increasing number of

its ethnic groups, probably mostly Central and South American immigrants rather than Puerto Ricans, into adjacent Brooklyn neighborhoods. This would seem to be the case with the Greenpoint section in Brooklyn and the area southeast of Ridgeway (Queens) where Hispanics are heavily concentrated in an area that extends beyond Dekalb Avenue, a significant expansion from the 1970 census pattern.

There are a number of areas in New York City which contained almost no, if any, Hispanics according to the 1970 census, where the 1980 census found between 2 and 10 percent Hispanics per tract. This is the case with a fairly large area in Staten Island, including several tracts with up to 25 percent Hispanics. In the Bronx, the area north of Allerton Avenue, including the Williamsbridge section had in 1970 large sections with no Hispanics at all and some with a very low incidence of Hispanics (about 2.5 percent). By 1980 this area shows rather large and dense concentrations of Hispanic residents, including a large number of tracts containing over 75 percent Hispanics. In Brooklyn, some of the southern parts of the borough showed little if any Hispanic residents in 1970 census counts, while in 1980 they either show a small Hispanic presence or an increase in the density of the Hispanic population. For example, the area north of Sheepshead Bay in the southernmost part of the borough had no Hispanics according to the 1970 census. Today a fairly large area

has an average of 2.5 percent Hispanics per tract. In Queens, areas such as Douglaston, in the easternmost section of the borough, and College Point, in the northern tip, with no Hispanic presence in 1970, have 2.5 to 5 percent Hispanics in a large share of tracts.

Although 1980 census data by sex is not available, it is well known from the INS Annual Reports that a majority of legal immigrants from the Caribbean and Latin America have been women over the last decade. A more refined analysis of the quantitative role of women in immigration will have to wait until the necessary data is available.

II. EXPORT PROCESSING ZONES

Export processing zones emerge as a response to 1) the limitations of the import substitution strategy in periphery countries to generate a large market for the products of multinationals in the periphery; 2) the increasing costs of labor in production plants at the core; and, 3) the desire in periphery countries to find new ways of drawing foreign investment once the possibilities of the import-substitution development strategy had been exhausted.⁵ Export processing zones are industrial areas with a variety of tariff and tax exemptions, located in places where labor is cheap and abundant, and designated as sites for export oriented production. There are also a large number of factories producing for export located outside the zones. But the

zones do emerge once the decentralization of industrial production from the core to the periphery acquires a massive scale.⁶

Except for the Shannon International Airport (Ireland) the first zone, which was established in 1958, this is mostly a very recent phenomenon. The second zone was established in 1965 in Taiwan, signaling the beginning of the expansion of the export processing zones in the late 60s and early 70s. By 1975 there were 79 EPZ in 25 countries: 11 countries in Asia, 9 in Latin America, and 5 in Africa.⁷ Furthermore, 23 countries had world market factories: 8 in Asia, 4 in Africa, and 9 in Latin America.

By 1980 the United Nations Industrial Development Organization found a change in this pattern. Of the countries operating EPZs, 5 were in Africa, 9 in Asia, 14 in Latin America and the Caribbean, 3 in the Middle East and 1 in the Pacific Islands. Of the countries which were either planning or already developing EPZs, 4 were in Asia, 3 in Latin America or the Caribbean, 1 in the Middle East and 1 in the Pacific Islands. Thus, by 1980, there were 32 countries operating 53 EPZ, 15 countries planning or developing their first EPZ and 25 zones either being planned or developed in all countries making a total of 78 EPZs.⁸

These EPZs contain a wide variety of industries. However, electronics and garment and textiles account for the bulk of production. The percentage of the total

EPZ labor force employed in these industries ranges from 42 percent to 85 percent.⁹

Although the data on employment by sex is incomplete, the available evidence shows over 70 percent of employees in the EPZs are female. In 1975 the female proportions for some of these countries were as follows: 83 percent in Malaysia, 71 percent in South Korea, 79 percent in Taiwan and 80 percent in Mexico's world market factory zone.¹⁰ The shares of the female labor force in some of these countries have probably increased since 1975 because of the expansion of plants in the semiconductor industry, 90 percent of whose workers are women. Besides being women, most employees are also very young: between the ages of 14 and 29. In Taiwan, 87 percent of EPZ women workers were under 25 and in Malaysia 80 percent to 85 percent were under 25. The findings are similar for several other countries.

Production, especially in the rapidly growing electronics industry, requires a highly disciplined work force. The employment of young women, typically lacking any prior work experience, is a rather efficient choice given production requirements (including 20/20 vision) and given a typically authoritarian family structure that emphasizes the subordination of women. At the same time, the above average levels of formal education required for workers in the electronics industry,¹¹ coupled with very low wages could potentially create a situation where workers' dissatisfaction would affect

production negatively. This risk is minimized by the employment of young women used to subordination within the family. Although they vary in their intensity, electronics factories tend to have rather elaborate personnel policies aimed at inculcating women employees with female submissiveness (e.g., through beauty contests) while at the same time selling the "Western culture" of the electronics factory as part of the fringe benefit package.¹²

These characteristics of the electronics industry are important because it is the fastest growing sector in direct foreign investment and contains the most advanced technological industry, microprocessing.¹³ It is foreseen that the industrial, scientific and military applications of this industry will expand rapidly over the next few years.¹⁴ This entails an expansion of the labor intensive assembly plants mostly located in the periphery and employing about 90 percent women in their work forces. A large share of this work is of such a nature that workers become obsolete due to sight deterioration after a few years and have to be laid off. This in itself, besides demands for much higher wages makes the location of this industry unlikely in core countries. Moreover, there is the need to locate reserves of *docile* labor. Very young female labor increasingly becomes a necessary resource rather than an added advantage in these factories. The constant turnover of the work force dissolves the possi-

bilities for accumulating experience towards workers' organization.

III. ECONOMIC INTERNATIONALIZATION AND WOMEN

The increase in the share of women in the Caribbean and South American migration flow has taken place during the phase of severe economic decline in New York City, the main destination point. The New York region lost 160,000 garment jobs between 1950 and 1970.¹⁵ Between 1969 and 1977 Manhattan's central business district experienced a 15 percent decline in office employment (from 570,000 to 400,000).¹⁶ To these partial indicators we can add a marked native population loss, the departure of many large corporation headquarters, and the city's fiscal crisis.

An important factor explaining the large influx of female immigrants in the face of severe economic decline was undoubtedly the 1965 Immigration Act with its changed emphasis towards family reunion. But this policy change can, in my view, only provide a partial explanation. There are two reasons for this. First, it is estimated that a very large share of undocumented immigrants also are women, which suggests that reasons other than policy led women to migrate. Second, women immigrants dominate in certain employment categories in the city, most significantly the garment industry with its expanding sweatshop and homework sectors. This suggests that women migrants, both documented and not,

have a place in the economy besides one in the reunited family.

It is interesting to notice the presence of a large share of women in a migration flow that has as its destination point a city in severe decline. Historically, migration flows have been directed to destination points characterized by economic growth. Furthermore, these flows have typically been dominated by males, while women only entered in significant numbers during the final phases. But even then, a majority of women immigrants was unlikely.

The absorbing of this growing immigrant population in a situation of large-scale job departures from the city in the last decade was made possible by way of the job structure during the same period. There was an expansion in low wage service and manufacturing jobs. It is these jobs which absorb a large share of the increased female immigration from the Caribbean, Latin America and Southeast Asia. The loss of jobs in certain kinds of occupations and of native population experienced by the city in this decade is paralleled by the expansion in low-wage service and manufacturing jobs and the increased immigrant population from the periphery.

The most extreme aspect of the recomposition of the job structure in New York City during the 1970s may well be the reemergence on a significant scale of sweatshops and homework, two rapidly growing components of

the garment industry employing women almost exclusively.¹⁷ Although the garment industry experienced large scale capital emigration to the periphery, certain branches of the industry required vicinity to the marketing and design centers and therefore could ill afford to locate in Central America or Southeast Asia. The ones to move were the branches with standard products or cheap mass market items. The less mechanized branches, more tied to fashion, with higher seasonal requirements and demanding tailoring skills as well as highly specialized finishing work have remained in New York City.¹⁸ Given these constraints on relocation, the availability of immigrant women is significant beyond the fact of their low wages. It lies in the possibility itself to have access to workers who can be forced to work under highly exploitable conditions, who are susceptible to extreme levels of control on the part of employers, but who nevertheless are highly reliable and do not create "discipline problems" in circumstances where employers cannot easily relocate their firms. The availability of immigrant labor, besides lowering labor costs, can be seen as a condition for the survival and eventual expansion of those branches of the garment industry.

The reemergence of sweatshops and homework employing periphery women in a core country is particularly significant if we consider that it takes place in a highly internationalized industry and that interna-

tionalization of production is the most novel form of the international division of labor. Internationalization of production takes the form of locating manufacturing plants in the periphery. The level of international specialization varies for different industries, ranging from low in the garment industry to very high in electronics.

Furthermore, internationalization of production encompasses not only the backward, labor intensive sectors of capital, e.g., garment and footwear, but also the technologically most advanced industries, such as microprocessing. Much of the internationalization of the garment industry has taken the form of an expansion of sweatshops throughout the periphery. At what could appear as an extreme opposite, the internationalization of microprocessor production has assumed the form of locating in the periphery semiconductor assembly plants with very modern equipment and requiring a highly disciplined work force because electronic components either are perfect or they are useless. Both the garment and the electronics factories in the periphery represent central aspects of this most recent form of the international division of labor. The garment factories require no formal education in their workers. The semiconductor plants require levels of formal education that are above average for the labor force in periphery countries. What they have in common is an almost exclusively female labor force.

Both the internationalization of production and international labor migrations from the periphery to the core can be seen as mechanisms reducing the costs of production for capital.¹⁹ The presence of an increasing share of women in both processes is a factor contributing to an even further decrease in the costs of production given the cultural and economic constraints that have historically burdened women. A third element that should be added to this accentuation of cost-lowering mechanisms is the extreme youth and hence lack of factory or organizing experience of these women. The increased control gained over workers in overseas factories is a significant variable in a situation of hard work and low pay. The functional equivalent to the rôle of youth in the case of labor migrations to the core is the powerlessness associated with immigrant status.

The migration of women from periphery to the core may be further stimulated by the development of export processing zones. In my view, the heavy incidence of women in the labor force of the EPZs in conjunction with the nature of work in a large share of these jobs will generate a sizable pool of obsolete women workers who will be potential migrants to the core. This applies especially to plants in the semiconductor industry where the assembly of components requires microscopes and leads to severe deterioration in eyesight after four or five years of continuous work. At the same time, these four or five years are suf-

ficient for these workers, who are mostly very young women, to weaken their ties with their families and "Americanize" their views. Given the prevalence of United States firms in the EPZs, the resulting objective and ideological linkages with the United States, and the continuing standing of the United States as a desirable destination, much of this potential female migration would be directed to the United States.

This raises the question as to whether at least some of the female migration to New York City today is not already associated with the development of EPZs. Suggestive here is the large presence of EPZs in the Caribbean basin and Southeast Asia, also the two main areas sending immigrants to the United States. In arguing that there may be a relationship between direct United States foreign investment in the periphery and migrations from the periphery to the United States, I am by no means postulating a simple mechanistic causation. This is a complex relationship with several components: mobilization of young women in the periphery into wage-labor, westernization of a sector of the economy and a sector of the work force, rural to urban migrations both within a periphery country and between periphery countries.²⁰ In some situations it may not be the same workers who are employed in the EPZs who may migrate, but their children or other members of the community. The presence of the EPZs can be seen as contributing objectively and ideologically to the emergence of migra-

tion to the core, especially the United States, as an option for the people in the periphery.

CONCLUSION

The relocation of manufacturing plants from the core to the periphery has acquired such a massive scale that it points to a new form of the international division of labor. This relocation is a response by capital to the increased costs of production at the core. Central here is the higher cost of the social reproduction of labor associated with high levels of socioeconomic development.

There are, however, limits to this relocation option. Certain kinds of production cannot be shifted away from the locus of consumption, e.g., many services or, even though susceptible to relocation, need to be close to the design and marketing centers, e.g., certain branches in the garment and footwear industries.

Under conditions where relocation to the periphery is either unfeasible or undesirable, the characteristics of the labor supply at the core acquire added significance. The locational rigidity needs to be offset by a flexible labor market, i.e., an abundant labor supply, in order for costs to be on some level competitive with those of branches that are relocated in the periphery. The shift in the composition of immigration flows to the United States from a predominance of European to one of South East Asian, Latin American and Caribbean nationalities and the huge increase in the

numbers are factors contributing to that flexibility and competitiveness.

The large share of women in this immigration flow can then be seen as a means of meeting the requirement for labor supply flexibility. Beyond all the family and other personal reasons that lead women to migrate, there is an economic rationality at the level of the system that provides an explanation for the growth of the share of women immigrants over the last fifteen years. Conceivably there are situations where such an economic rationality at the level of the system does not apply or is superceded by very strong personal reasons to migrate. However, even in the cases where it applies, personal reasons may dominate the migrants' decisions and provide for them apparent coherence between their individual experiences and the larger process in which they are found.

Manufacturing branches not subject to locational rigidities meet their labor needs by moving where the "suitable" workers can be found. The need for low-wage, but highly disciplined, reliable workers is satisfied though the employment of young women.

It could be argued that as the supply of low-wage immigrants expands at the core, e.g., New York City, the need to locate in the periphery becomes less pronounced. The expansion of the garment sector in Chinatown, especially, is an indication of this possibility. So is the decision by New York City's Depart-

ment of Commerce to designate as one of its priorities getting microprocessing firms to locate semiconductor assembly plants in the New York area rather than in Southeast Asia or Mexico. The growing supply of immigrant women is one factor in this policy decision, a decision that would otherwise appear as very unrealistic.

What emerges from this analysis is a central role for women, given their subordinate status historically, in the new international division of labor. The increased influx of periphery workers to New York City during its phase of severe economic decline and the large-scale location of manufacturing plants in the periphery are two sides of the same process. Thus the expansion of sweatshops in the core countries, generally interpreted as a *reversal* to an old, outmoded way of producing, is actually associated with that most novel mode: the internationalization of production. Studies on the expansion of sweatshops and their employment of women, should also incorporate this dimension rather than limiting themselves to an analysis of the extreme exploitation reminiscent of the bad old days. In the case of the semiconductor industry, the need for this type of conceptualization is clearer for the simple reason that it is so obviously a *new* industry with a highly refined internationalized production process.

NOTES

- ¹See a detailed account in Saskia Sassen-Koob, "Exporting Capital and Importing Labor: The Role of Migration in New York City," *Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies: Occasional Papers* (September, 1981).
- ²New York City Department of City Planning. Public Law Files 94-171.
- ³UNITO (United Nations Industrial Development Organization), *Export Processing Zones in Developing Countries* (New York: UNITO, 1980), pp. 46-50.
- ⁴In the case of immigrant populations with a high incidence of undocumented individuals, census tract data may be useful in partly offsetting census undercounts given the tendency for undocumented and legal immigrants to live in the same areas of the city. Furthermore, given this tendency, tract data provide a highly descriptive account of the spatial distribution of the immigrant populations and their location in relation to other ethnic, racial and socioeconomic groups. I should note perhaps that population size per tract can vary greatly, ranging from a few hundred to over 20,000 in the case of New York City.
- ⁵After a decade of export-led industrialization, this strategy has become quite controversial in terms of its

development effects. See ARTEP (Asian Employment Programme), "Export-led Industrialization and Employment." Proceedings of a Symposium. Thailand, February 24-25, 1980. Geneva: I.L.O.

⁶The search for production sites in the periphery began in the early 1960s, before the large scale development of EPZs. Early in the decade there were already significant numbers of garment assembly plants in Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean. Similarly with electronics: already in 1961 Fairchild located assembly plants in Mexico and in Hong Kong. General Instruments in 1964 was the first plant to locate in Taiwan, a year before the second EPZ in the whole world was opened there. At the same time, the relative recency of the phenomenon is shown by the fact that it was not until 1972 that Malaysia received its first electronics plant. In the case of the Philippines it was not until 1974 that the first semiconductor assembly plants were located there. (And, it was in 1972 that President Marcos declared martial law and shortly after that overturned a Supreme Court ruling that defined United States ownership of Philippine land to be unconstitutional.) In the U.S. Tariff Items 806.30 and especially Item 807.00, adopted in 1963, provide the necessary legal structure for internationalized production by permitting the export of parts for assembly abroad and requiring duties only on the value added by

labor when reimporting the assembled parts. See Steven S. Volk, "The International Competitiveness of the U.S. Economy: A Study of Steel and Electronics," in *Capitalism and the State in U.S.-Latin American Relations*, ed. R. R. Fagen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979); Folker Fröbel, Jürgen Heinrichs and Otto Kreye, *The New International Division of Labour: Structural Unemployment in Industrialised Countries and Industrialisation in Developing Countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America), "Capital's Flight: The Apparel Industry Moves South," *Latin America and Empire Report (Report on the Americas)* 11 (March 1977); ARTEP.

⁷Fröbel, et al., p. 22.

⁸UNITO, pp. 46-50.

⁹Fröbel, et al.; Volk; Southeast Asian Chronicle-Pacific Research, joint issue, 1978-1979.

¹⁰Helen Safa, *Export Processing and Female Employment: The Search for Cheap Labor* (New York: Wenner-Gren Symposium No. 85, 1980); Rachael Grossman, "Women's Place in the Integrated Circuit," *Southeast Asia Chronicle-Pacific Research (Joint Issue)* (1971): 2-17; Fröbel, et al.

¹¹Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, "The 'Maquila' Women," NACLA, *Latin American Women: One Myth-Many Realities* 14

(September-October, 1980): 14-19.

¹²See the excellent series in *Southeast Asia Chronicle*, 1979; Grossman.

¹³Semiconductors are the central component in what can be called the *modern* industrial revolution. Technological development in the last three decades permits an ever greater increase in the complexity of integrated circuitry carried by a single semiconductor crystal ("silicon chip"). Furthermore, the costs of producing semiconductors have decreased rapidly. One central aspect in this technology is the assemblage of the circuits. Most of this assemblage is done through a highly labor-intensive work process, where workers have to use microscopes. Automated bonding processes are being developed but require expensive equipment and total reliability of the workers. Most of the labor-intensive assembly plants are located in Southeast Asia. Increasingly United States firms are moving expensive automated bonding equipment there as well, especially to Malaysia.

¹⁴John S. Mayo, "The Power of Microelectronics," *Technology Review* 83 (January 1981): 46-54; J. Rada, *The Impact of Microelectronics: A Tentative Appraisal of Information Technology* (Geneva: I.L.O., World Employment Programme, 1980).

- 15Council on Wage and Price Stability. 1978. A Study of Textile and Apparel Industries. Washington, D.C.
- 16Emanuel Tobier, "Gentrification: The Manhattan Story," *New York Affairs* 5:4 (1979): 13-25.
- 17NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America), "Capital's Flight: The Apparel Industry Moves South," *Latin America and Empire Report (Report on the Americas)* 12:6 (November-December 1979).
- 18NACLA (1977); Council on Wage and Price Stability.
- 19Saskia Sassen-Koob, "The Internationalization of the Labor Force," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 15 (Winter 1980): 3-23.

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THE DIFFERENTIAL INCORPORATION OF HISPANIC WOMEN
MIGRANTS INTO THE UNITED STATES LABOR FORCE*

Helen I. Safa

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Despite the increasing interest in and research on migration, little attention has been paid to the impact of sex differences on the migration process. It has generally been assumed that women migrate as members of a dependent family unit, either as wives or daughters, accompanying their husbands or fathers to their new location.

More recent research, however, has revealed that in certain areas of the world, women migrate independently of men, and often at higher rates. In her seminal work on *Women's Role in Economic Development*, Boserup notes that in Latin America, between 25 and 33 percent of adult women in towns are employed; a figure comparable to most industrialized countries. However, since there are few employment opportunities for women in rural areas, there is a high rate of out-migration, resulting in a higher proportion of women in towns than in the rural areas.¹ Further research has shown that many of these women arrive alone, or as heads of families with children and

*A fuller version of this paper will be published in a forthcoming volume by UNESCO.

no husband. Migrant women in all age groups generally report higher participation rates than women native to the city, and are also concentrated in manual jobs, particularly in domestic service. It would seem that native-migrant differences are greater among females than among males in Latin American cities.²

The reasons for this difference lie in the employment opportunities open to migrant and native women. Data on several large Latin American cities show that the highest proportion of women employed as domestic servants is found among recent arrivals to the city, diminishing with length of residence and birthplace in the city.³ Studies by Chaney and others in Peru suggest that domestic service is also found predominantly among younger single women, since with marriage and/or children, it is difficult for women to live in the homes of their employers, as is customary in most of Latin America.⁴ If they are able, these women may move on to petty vending in the streets or in markets, often carrying their children with them. Factory employment is generally confined to women born in the city, while white-collar employment in clerical or sales jobs requires in addition a high school education and *buena presentación* (good appearance), generally restricted to women of middle-class status.⁵

How does this employment profile compare with Hispanic women migrants to the United States? We would of course expect this international migration to be more selective than internal migration, since it requires

more planning and resources, and (with the exception of Puerto Ricans) is subject to immigration laws which in themselves largely determine the type of immigrants allowed to enter. The kind of employment opportunities available to women migrants also differ considerably in the United States, which is far more industrialized than most of Latin America, and where migrants face language barriers not confronting them in their own country. In addition, the relative recency of much Hispanic migration to the United States precludes the kind of intergenerational analysis which is beginning to emerge on rural-urban migrants in Latin America.

This paper will concern itself chiefly with Hispanic women migrants to the greater New York City area. While important comparative data regarding Hispanics nationally will be reported where useful, the paper will concentrate on the Hispanic groups found predominantly in the New York City area, namely the Puerto Ricans, the Cubans, the Colombians, and to a lesser extent the Dominicans. By concentrating on one area, it is easier to analyze the effects of changes in the job market and other socioeconomic indices on the migrant population. At the same time, New York City continues to attract a large share of Hispanic migrants, except for Mexicans who are still concentrated largely in the Southwest, and Cuban and Haitian Migrants in South Florida.

HISPANIC MIGRANTS IN NEW YORK CITY

The Hispanic population of New York City grew from 5.5 percent of the total population in 1960 to 10.4 percent in 1970.⁶ In the Hispanic group by far the largest are the Puerto Ricans, who numbered 817,000 in 1970, or 70 percent of the City's Hispanic population, although New York's share of the Puerto Rican mainland population declined from 82 percent in 1950 to 59 percent in 1970.⁷ Though close to half of the Cuban-origin population lived in Florida in 1970, another 90,000 lived in New York and 70,000 in New Jersey.⁸ The number of Dominicans and Colombians is difficult to estimate with any accuracy because of the large number of illegal immigrants from these and other Latin American countries, but the total number of Central and South Americans reported living in New York City in 1970 was 150,000.⁹

As in Latin America, the percentage of women among Hispanic migrants to the United States is also generally higher than that of men. This is less true of the Mexican migrant population (because of the preponderance of farm laborers) than of the Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Central and South American migrant populations. In each case the percentage of women is higher among migrant than among the mainland-born of that ethnic group. For example, based on nationwide data for the 1970 census, of every one hundred Cuban migrants some fifty three are women and

forty-seven men¹⁰ while the figure is the same for migrants of Central and South American origin.¹¹ In New York City, women constitute 55.8 percent of the Colombian population sixteen years and over,¹² while among Dominicans the number of women immigrants consistently outnumbered the number of men in the INS statistics from 1962-73.¹³ Among Puerto Ricans, the sex ratio has fluctuated, with men predominating among earlier migrants, shifting to women in the 1940s, and reversing to men again in recent years.¹⁴

Why, we may ask, do women outnumber men in this Hispanic migrant population? Part of the explanation may lie in the differential effects of immigration legislation on male and female migrants. The 1965 immigration law favors relatives of foreigners who are citizens or permanent residents of the United States and this may tend to increase the number of women.¹⁵ However, this would not apply to Puerto Ricans, who are already United States citizens, or to Cubans, most of whom have been admitted as political refugees. Therefore, a more plausible explanation for the excess of females over males in the Hispanic migrant population would appear to lie in the nature of the New York City job market. As with internal migration in Latin America, women are migrating out more than men because of the perceived job opportunities in the New York area.

THE NEW YORK JOB MARKET

The chief attraction for most Hispanic women migrants, except for highly skilled professionals, appears to lie in factory employment in the New York City area, chiefly in the garment industry. This industry, has been well known as employing successive waves of immigrants to New York City, from Jews, Italians, Poles and other eastern European groups, to the more recent Hispanic migrants. The reasons why immigrants flocked to the garment or apparel industry is that: 1) the work often did not require much knowledge of English, and even union meetings were sometimes conducted in Yiddish, Italian or now occasionally Spanish; 2) many migrants came equipped with skills, such as cutting and sewing, which were sought in the needle trades; and 3) wages were often lower than in other industry groups, reducing competition with native workers who preferred higher-paying jobs. In 1974, average hourly earnings in manufacturing as a whole were \$4.40 compared to \$2.99 in the apparel sector, the lowest of any major industry group in the United States.¹⁶ Earnings may be increased through piecework, which characterizes 80 percent of apparel workers, but also may be reduced through seasonal unemployment. Apparel workers average only forty weeks of work per year.¹⁷

Apparel is the largest industrial employer of women in the United States. More than 80 percent of all apparel workers are women, most of them working as

operatives, who make up 80 percent of employment in the industry.¹⁸ In New York City, nearly half the work force was made up of non-white workers in 1969, with a high percentage of Hispanics. According to the 1970 census, 46.7 percent of Puerto Rican women and 37.6 percent of Cuban women were working as operatives in the New York SMSA, making this the largest category of female employment among Hispanics both in the city and nationwide.¹⁹ A study of migrants from one village in the Dominican Republic to New York City found that nearly half of the employed women were employed in garment factories.²⁰

Among Puerto Ricans, the apparel industry has provided the largest single source of employment, with Puerto Rican women constituting one-fourth of all operatives in the industry in New York City.²¹ The proportion of operatives among employed Puerto Rican women in New York City is four times as high among migrant women than among the mainland-born²² reflecting a shift into white-collar jobs among the second generation. However apparel manufacturing also suffered a 40 percent decline in jobs in the 1960-1970 decade or a total of 137,000 jobs, a loss which continued at the rate of 12,000 jobs per year through 1973.²³

This loss of jobs in the apparel industry in New York City is due chiefly to the movement of production to foreign countries and to the South in search of cheaper, non-unionized labor. For example, from 1961 to 1975 apparel imports increased by 555 percent in quantity and

736 percent in dollar value.²⁴ This is due largely to Item 807.00 of the U.S. Tariff Schedules, which stimulated the sending of cut fabrics out of the country where they were made up into finished garments. Duty had to be paid only on the value added to American products, which represented, however, about 95 percent of actual production.²⁵ Much of the trade under Item 807.00 is between firms in this country and their affiliates or suppliers abroad,²⁶ that is United States multinationals, though this fact has not been emphasized by either management or labor in their public appeals for the repeal of the Multi-Fiber Arrangement. Much of this production is carried out in Mexico, and other Central American and Caribbean countries from which the Hispanic migrants in New York City come.²⁷ Thus, while Hispanic migrants come here seeking jobs, U.S. firms are shifting production to their countries of origin.

Not only has production moved abroad, but the apparel industry along with other manufacturing jobs has moved South. The South showed a gain in employment in the apparel industry from 17 percent in 1950 to 44 percent in 1974 making it now the center of apparel production in the United States.²⁸ As with the movement abroad, the chief reason is the search for non-unionized cheaper labor. North Carolina, for example, the most industrialized state of the South and the region's largest apparel producer, in 1974 had the lowest rate of unionized non-agricultural workers (9.8 percent)²⁹ while wages were

43 percent lower than in New York.³⁰ The apparel industry has then shared in the precipitous economic decline of the Northeast, particularly starting in 1970.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF HISPANIC WOMEN

Although it is difficult to determine which sector of the labor force in the garment industry has been hardest hit by this decline in employment, Puerto Ricans and other ethnic minorities are likely to be more vulnerable to layoffs because they do not have the seniority of older white American women workers. Some support for this hypothesis can be found in the fact that in New York Puerto Rican women with eighth grade or less education suffered a much more sharp decline in labor force participation from 1960 to 1970 (35 percent vs. 24 percent) than American-born white females, whose participation rate dropped from only 29 to 28 percent. Jobs for women with eight years or less of schooling declined 40 percent in New York City between 1960 and 1970.³¹ Most of these less educated women are employed in unskilled jobs such as in the garment industry.

From 1950 to 1970 the labor force participation rate of Puerto Rican women in New York City dropped from two to five in 1950, higher than the citywide average, to below one in three in 1970, well below the rate for the total population.³² The largest gap is registered for Puerto Rican women in the prime working ages from 25 to 34, where the rate for Puerto Rican women is 25 percent compared to 42 percent for the total female population.³³

Even in Puerto Rico, where the unemployment rate is much higher, women of this age group are more likely to be working.³⁴

In addition to the loss in manufacturing employment, various demographic factors may help to explain this precipitous decline. A majority of Puerto Rican women interviewed in the city's low-income area survey cite family responsibilities as the reason for leaving their last job.³⁵ Puerto Ricans, compared to other New Yorkers, have larger families, more young children living at home, and a larger percentage of households headed by women. In New York City, three out of ten Puerto Rican families are headed by women, which represents an increase from 18 percent in 1960 to 29 percent in 1970, much higher than the total population.³⁶ The highest percentage of Puerto Rican female-headed households is found among women aged 16 to 21 and among those who have lived in the city less than five years³⁷ suggesting the increase may be linked to the increasing number of young, unwed mothers and to a largely migrant population. However, the percentage of Puerto Rican female-headed households in New York City is about double that found on the island itself.

The increasing percentage of female-based households among Puerto Ricans may also be attributed partly to the economic decline of the Northeast, which has particularly affected industries in which Puerto Ricans, men as well as women have traditionally found employment. While not so drastic, the labor force participation rate

for Puerto Rican men also declined from 76 percent in 1950 to 66 percent in 1970.³⁸ My own study in Puerto Rico³⁹ and others have shown a direct correlation between declining employment opportunities for men and the formation of female-based households. That is, the harder it is for a man to find a job, the more difficult it is for him to maintain a family, and the more likely he is to abandon his family, or not marry at all. Alternatively, women may not want to marry men without steady employment, and prefer to work themselves or seek public welfare, particularly if they have young children. Thirty percent of Puerto Rican families in New York City received public assistance in 1969⁴⁰ a large percentage of whom are female-based households, since more than half of these families fall below the poverty line.⁴¹

Thus, the economic decline of the Northeast would appear to be pushing both men and women out of the labor force, and perhaps increasing the percentage of female-based households in the Puerto Rican community. While employment opportunities are only one factor in determining labor force participation rates, their importance is underscored by the fact that other demographic variables within the Puerto Rican community have not changed much since 1960, with the exception of the growth of female-based households. A study of Puerto Rican New Yorkers by the Bureau of Labor Statistics notes:

While size of family, age of children, and family living arrangements contribute to low labor force

participation of Puerto Rican women, these factors do not explain the sharp drop which has occurred during the past decade. Average family size has not increased over the decade, and there is no evidence of a change in family living patterns. Even the fact that a rising percentage of families are headed by women contributes little or nothing to understanding this phenomenon since the labor force pattern of women who are family heads approximates that of women living with husbands. The absence of an obvious explanation for declining labor force participation rates underscores the need for further study of the employment and income structure of New York City as it affects Puerto Ricans, particularly Puerto Rican women.⁴²

Second-generation Puerto Rican women in New York City are also rejecting blue-collar employment in favor of more attractive white-collar jobs. As we noted previously, in 1970 only 11 percent of mainland-born Puerto Rican women compared to 44 percent of the island-born in New York City are working as operatives, while 76.6 percent of the mainland-born are employed as white-collar workers, primarily in clerical jobs.⁴³ Despite declining labor force rates, the percentage of Puerto Ricans (both male and female) employed in white-collar jobs more than doubled between 1950 and 1970. Three-fourths of the Puerto Rican women in white-collar jobs have a high school education⁴⁴ which is primarily found among the mainland-born. Even the Puerto Rican women with a high school education and beyond, however, have not made gains comparable to American-born white females. Among college

graduates, for example, Puerto Rican women have increased their participation by 29 percent, compared to a 47 percent increase for American-born whites.⁴⁵ Thus, while the loss in less skilled jobs has disproportionately affected Puerto Rican females, the increase in white-collar jobs has favored American-born whites. Here we see clearly how ethnicity and sex combine to create a dual disadvantage for the Puerto Rican female, at both the top and bottom of the occupational ladder.

What appears to be happening in the Puerto Rican community in New York City is a distinct bifurcation of the community into two groups: an upwardly mobile group, composed mostly of mainland-born, which is acquiring more education and moving into white-collar and professional jobs, and a proletarianized group, largely migrant, which includes a high percentage of female-based households. The latter group is losing the unskilled and semi-skilled blue-collar jobs traditionally filled by this subgroup and is beginning to drop out of the labor force in increasing numbers. However, even the upwardly mobile group can hardly be considered to be "assimilated" since even those with high educational levels, particularly women, are denied equal access to professional and managerial jobs. More of the upwardly mobile group appear to be living outside New York, where larger proportions of men and women are in the labor force, and where the mainland-born are better educated, have better jobs and earn more.⁴⁵

The other Hispanic groups have not been here long

enough to detect the emergence of such a bifurcation in the mobility patterns of the ethnic community. Also, since they have been here a shorter time, a valid comparison between migrants and mainland-born is not feasible. Thus, of the Cuban population in the United States in 1970 almost eight in ten were born in Cuba.⁴⁷ Differences in the Cuban population are much more likely to stem from pre-migration socio-economic differences. Though it is assumed that most of the Cuban population is middle class in origin, in truth a significant percentage of working class Cubans also came to the United States, particularly in the period since 1965.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, there has as yet been no systematic study to show the influence of these pre-migration differences on the mobility patterns of the Cuban population in the United States.

However, in sharp contrast to Puerto Rican women, Cuban women as well as other Hispanic women generally have a much higher labor force participation rates than the total population. In New York, in 1970 55 percent of Cuban women⁴⁹ and 58 percent of Colombian women were in the labor force, compared to 42 percent of the total female population.⁵⁰ The reasons for this higher labor force participation rate clearly lie with economic need. Immigrant women in the United States have always been involved with a strong work ethic and have shown higher labor force participation rates than native women.⁵¹ Economic necessity is usually the chief reason behind immigration, and women are expected to contribute their

share. They realize that only by two people working can the family add to its income and establish a firm foothold in the new environment. For example, the median family income in 1969 for Puerto Ricans with one wage earner was \$5860 compared to \$9900 for families with two or more wage earners; for Cubans, the comparable figures were \$6560 and \$10,490.⁵² However, 61 percent of Cuban families nationwide had two or more wage earners, compared to 36.2 percent of Puerto Rican families and 51 percent of the total population.⁵³

The high percentage of Hispanic women employed in the U.S. belies the notion that it is cultural tradition which prevents Latin American women from seeking employment. The Latin American notion of *machismo* or male superiority is often cited as a reason why women are confined to the home, since their employment might threaten the male's role as chief breadwinner and authority in the household. This notion ignores the fact that most peasant and working class women in Latin America have always contributed to the family income, either through paid employment or as part of a family productive unit, or through odd jobs in the informal economy. As in the United States, therefore, the ideology of female confinement to the home was only operative among elite women, whose husbands could afford to have them idle.⁵⁴

Clearly, Cuban and other Hispanic women in the United States have abandoned this ideology, at least for the moment, even if they are of elite origin and may not

have worked in their own country. Certainly in the United States they would be under less pressure to conform to this ideology than they would be in their own country, since there is a greater acceptance of married women working in the United States where two-thirds of the women in the labor force are married.⁵⁵ Among Hispanic women the status value of female confinement to the home has been replaced by the even stronger desire of the family to get ahead and reestablish itself in their new setting.⁵⁶ Thus, the family's mobility aspirations force the woman into the labor force, regardless of a cultural value denigrating female employment.

While this may explain why Cuban and other Hispanic women work so frequently outside the home, it doesn't clarify the low labor force participation rate of Puerto Rican women. Certain demographic differences between the Hispanic groups may help account for their differential rates of labor force participation. Most Cuban women tend to be older, to have smaller families, and to be better educated than Puerto Rican women. In addition, only 12 percent of Cuban women are heads of households compared to Puerto Rican women. However, Cuban women consistently show higher rates of labor force participation, regardless of family structure or presence of children. In fact, Cuban women who are heads of households show much higher participation rates than wives.⁵⁷ While many Cuban and other Hispanic women may not be eligible for welfare because of their immigration status, it is

also likely that they would reject welfare as a symbol of poverty and low status in the United States. Accepting welfare would signify an abandonment of their mobility aspirations.

On the other hand, the employment profiles of Cuban and Puerto Rican women are very similar. At the national level, they are almost identical; nearly half of all Puerto Rican and Cuban women worked as operatives in 1970⁵⁸ compared to 15 percent of white women workers. About one-quarter of Puerto Rican and Cuban women nationally were employed in clerical occupations, compared to over a third of white women.⁵⁹ In New York City, about the same percentage of both groups of women are found in clerical employment, but Puerto Rican women show a higher percentage of operatives while Cuban women have a higher percentage employed in service jobs.⁶⁰

Why, then, should Puerto Rican women have dropped out of the labor force since 1950? Here again the hypothesized bifurcation of the Puerto Rican community may provide an explanation. The upwardly mobile group includes a high percentage of female wage earners, many of whom have acquired a good education. Labor force participation rates rise with educational level, and though the rates for Puerto Rican women are still generally lower than for other New York women, the gap is much lower among those with a high school and particularly a college education.⁶¹ As noted previously, these are the women who are acquiring the white-collar and even professional jobs which may lead

to meaningful careers and further upward mobility. Puerto Rican women registered greater occupational gains than men in the 1960s in terms of entry into professional and white-collar employment.⁶²

On the other hand, Puerto Rican women who have been unable to compete, who are high school dropouts or unwed mothers (or both) are most likely to be discouraged about finding a good job and to rely on public assistance as an alternative source of income. They no longer accept the work ethic of their parents or other Hispanic women, and prefer not to work at all rather than at some menial, low-paid job. Since they have given up all hope of upward mobility, public welfare no longer carries the stigma it does for other Hispanic families, still hopeful of achieving the American dream. These Puerto Rican women have abandoned the American dream and resigned themselves to a struggle for survival on a bare subsistence income.

It is also possible that competition from other Hispanic women has contributed to the decline in labor force participation of Puerto Rican women. The decline coincides with the arrival in New York City of large numbers of other Hispanic women, including large numbers of undocumented aliens from Latin America, many of whom have found employment in small, non-unionized shops in the garment industry, where they are often paid even less than the minimum wage. A recent report by NACLA⁶³ notes that both industry and union sources conservatively

estimate that undocumented workers might amount to as much as a third of New York apparel labor. However, according to this report, they do not appear to be paid less than legal workers nor to work disproportionately in sweatshops as opposed to larger, more stable union shops. (Many are actually union members.) The chief attraction of undocumented workers lies in their dire need to work, particularly since they are uneligible for unemployment insurance or other forms of public assistance, and afraid to apply because of their illegal status.⁶⁴

Thus, Puerto Rican women in unskilled employment are hemmed in at two levels; on the one hand, the better jobs in more stable shops are not open to them, because they are occupied by older women, generally of European origin, who have acquired many years of seniority. As the most recent entrants into the garment industry, Puerto Rican women are also most likely to be let go as the number of jobs decline with the movement of plants elsewhere. On the other hand, they cannot or will not compete with other Hispanic women, particularly undocumented workers, who may be willing to work for lower wages in non-union shops and perhaps provide a more docile labor force.

In short, while declining employment in unskilled jobs such as the garment industry undoubtedly is a major factor in the declining labor force participation rate of Puerto Rican women, it does not explain the continued high employment rates of other Hispanic women. The latter appear to be working at jobs which Puerto Ricans

have abandoned, but the adequacy of this explanation and the reasons for such replacement need to be examined through further study.

CONCLUSIONS AND RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS

What, then, is the future for Hispanic women migrants in New York City? Will many more be forced to leave the labor force as Puerto Rican women have, because of general unemployment and a decline in the urban manufacturing jobs in which migrant women have traditionally sought work?

Clearly this brief analysis calls for a more careful study of the impact of the changing job market on Hispanic migrants, particularly women. As jobs in the apparel and other manufacturing industries decline, what alternatives are open to Hispanic women who have relied on this as a source of employment? This affects not only Hispanics, but older employees of the garment industry as well, who have recently voiced their concern over their jobs in mass public protests.⁶⁵ While older employees are less vulnerable to layoffs than Hispanic women, because of seniority, there are signs that the loss of jobs in the garment industry is beginning to affect them as well. For most of these women, predominantly in their fifties, there are no alternatives, since many of them have spent twenty to thirty years or more in the garment industry.

There are few alternatives to manufacturing employment open to uneducated Hispanic women. Black women have traditionally concentrated in the service sector, which is still expanding, but which also offers low wages and little chance for upward mobility. The service sector also demands a knowledge of the English language, which most Hispanic women lack upon their arrival. Undoubtedly some Hispanic women migrants, particularly the undocumented aliens, have found employment as domestic servants, though this is considered the lowest status employment. Nationwide the largest numbers of Spanish-origin women in service work were found in food service, health service, personal service and cleaning service, in that order.⁶⁶

Second-generation Hispanic women who have acquired a good education and knowledge of English will probably move into white-collar work, as some Puerto Rican and Cuban women have done. This is the largest sector of female employment in the United States today, particularly in clerical work. However, this is not an alternative open to most migrant women, who lack the necessary language and skill training. Research is clearly needed on the intergenerational shifts in employment among women, particularly first and second generation migrants, as a way of determining mobility patterns in ethnic groups.

Will the economic decline of the Northeast, particularly in manufacturing employment, bring about a decline in the number of Hispanic migrants, especially

women? The increasing number of legal as well as undocumented aliens since 1960, when the decline began, does not support such an assertion. Though scarcer, jobs are still more plentiful and better paying in New York City than in their own countries. However, it is likely that with the economic recession, immigration restrictions will be more strictly enforced, particularly regarding undocumented aliens, whose impact on the restricted labor market has already caused considerable public concern. The decline in jobs may also mean that fewer Hispanic women migrants will work, though financial necessity may drive many into low-wage and even illegal employment.

Will Hispanic migrants go elsewhere where employment is growing? There is evidence that Puerto Rican female participation rates are increasing in areas outside New York City, which attract primarily the well educated with considerable work experience.⁶⁷ However, manufacturing activities such as the garment industry have generally moved to areas like the Southern United States where there is already an abundant supply of low-wage labor brought on by a steady decline in agricultural employment. One study notes: "In the apparel industry, the vast majority of Southern plants are located in non-metropolitan areas where labor tends to be even less organized, less militant and more desperate for jobs than in urban centers."⁶⁸ Even Southern blacks have not benefitted greatly from the expansion of manufacturing employment.

Large numbers of Mexicans, however, are employed in runaway garment shops along the northern border region of Mexico.⁶⁹

The simultaneous increase in employment for women in poorly paid, runaway shops in garments and electronics along the Mexican border as well as in several other Third World countries,⁷⁰ and the decline in employment in such jobs in New York City, can only be explained as part of the new international division of labor, which increasingly concentrates unskilled jobs in Third World countries in a search for cheaper, nonunionized labor,⁷⁰ and the decline in employment in such jobs in New York City, can only be explained as part of the new international division of labor, which increasingly concentrates unskilled jobs in Third World countries in a search for cheaper, nonunionized labor.⁷¹ While most apparent in the garment and electronics industry, the shift in employment has now begun to appear in heavier, more capital-intensive industries such as automobiles and steel, which employ mostly men in the production process. The public outcry over the loss of jobs in these industries is far greater, in part because they employ large numbers of people, and are often the dominant industries in cities like Detroit or Youngstown, but also because the concern for male unemployment has always been greater than for female unemployment. It is assumed that the man is still the principal breadwinner in most American households, though this is not at all clear in

Hispanic migrant families, many of whom are headed by women. The migration of these Hispanic families to New York City and other parts of the United States is also part of the international division of labor, which operates both by importing people or exporting jobs. The strategy which is adopted by particular industries varies over time depending on the availability of cheap labor in the industrialized country, tariff regulations and other government restrictions, etc. More research is needed to examine the full implications of this new international division of labor on Hispanic families and women migrants in particular.

NOTES

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⁵Laraine Testa-Zappert. "Women in the Urban Labor Force: The Case of Peru." Unpublished manuscript, Cornell U., 1975.

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- ¹¹Ibid., p. 316.
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²⁴International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The Needed Repeal of Item 807.00 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States. Sol C. Chaikin, President, Testimony before Subcommittee on Trade Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, 1976, p. 2.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁸NACLA, p. 10.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 12.

³¹Rosemary S. Cooney and Alice Colon Warren. "Declining Female Participation among Puerto Rican New Yorkers: A Comparison with Native White New Yorkers." Paper presented at 72nd annual meeting of American Sociological Assn., 1977, Chicago. Published in *Ethnicity* 6:3 (September 1979): 281-297.

³²Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 64.

³³*Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

³⁴Ibid., p. 6.

³⁵Ibid., p. 68.

³⁶Ibid., p. 47.

³⁷Ibid., p. 48.

³⁸Ibid., p. 63.

³⁹Helen Icken Safa, *The Urban Poor of Puerto Rico: A Study in Development and Inequality* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974).

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 119.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 115-116.

⁴²Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 64.

⁴³Ibid., p. 99. Also in contrast to the decline in blue-collar factory employment, white-collar clerical employment has experienced extraordinary growth in the 1960-70 decade, especially in bureaucratic cities such as New York. This has favored women with at least a high school education (c.f. Cooney and Warren, p. 285).

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 95.

⁴⁵Cooney and Warren, p. 294 note that "island-born female migrants who left New York between 1965 and 1970 to move to other states were extremely well educated and had considerable work experience," leaving behind the least educated and less experienced.

⁴⁶Jaffe, Cullen and Boswell, pp. 264-265.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁴⁸U.S. Dept. of Labor, *Women of Spanish Origin in the United States* (Women's Bureau, Employment Standards Administration, 1976), p. 10.

⁵⁰Chaney, *Colombian Migration*, p. 99.

⁵¹Alice Kessler-Harris, "Stratifying by Sex: Understanding the History of Working Women," in *Labor Market Segmentation*, eds. Richard C. Edwards, Michael Reich, and David M. Gordon (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1975), p. 228.

⁵²Jaffe, Table 8.

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 421.

⁵⁴Kessler-Harris, p. 221.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 233.

⁵⁶ Dominguez, p. 91.

⁵⁷ Wilber, Jaco, Hagan, and del Fierro, Jr., pp. 53-54.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 78.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 77.

⁶⁰ Wilber and Hagan, pp. 60-61.

⁶¹ Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 67. Also, since labor force participation rates rise with educational level, and the educational level of mainland-born Puerto Rican women is considerably higher than that of island-born migrants, it is surprising to find that Cooney and Warren, p. 287, report "no significant differences in participation rates among second generation Puerto Rican females and island-born females whether of recent or long-term migration status."

⁶² Ibid., p. 92.

⁶³ NACLA. "Undocumented Workers in New York City." 12:6 (1979) New York, p. 35.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 27.

- ⁶⁵"Curbs on Imports Urged at Apparel Union Rally." *New York Times*, April 14, 1977, p. D1.
- ⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 10.
- ⁶⁷Cooney and Warren, p. 285.
- ⁶⁸NACLA. "Capital's Flight: The Apparel Industry Moves South." 11:3 (1977) New York, p. 14.
- ⁶⁹NACLA (1975); and M. Patricia Fernandez, "Maquiladoras" and Women in Ciudad Juarez: The Paradoxes on Industrialization under Global Capitalism. Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1980.
- ⁷⁰Rachael Grossman, "Women's Place in the Integrated Circuit," in *Changing Role of Southeast Asian Women* (Southeast Asia Chronicle, No. 66, 1979); and Linda Lim, "Women Workers in Multinational Corporations: The Case of the Electronics Industry in Malaysia and Singapore. Ann Arbor, Michigan, Michigan Occasional Paper No. IX, Women Studies Program, 1978.
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EVALUATING A WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM: REPORT ON
EMPLOYABILITY SERVICES FOR HISPANIC WOMEN*

Palmira N. Rios

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to define clearly the barriers to the effective employability of Puerto Rican female participants in a Work Incentive Program (WIN) Demonstration Model of the city of New Haven. The unit, Development of Effective Employability Services for Hispanic Women is the result of the recognition of the little success of the WIN program in placing Hispanic women in jobs as it has with the larger WIN population. The Hispanic unit's stated goal is "to develop a delivery system that recognizes the special needs of Hispanic women and provides those services that will give them equity with the total WIN population." The program started in January 1978 and functioned until September 1979.

The Problem

Like many women today, Puerto Rican women work because

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of economic need. An indicator of their economic situation is the fact that, in 1974, the median income for Hispanic families in the United States was \$9,559; much less than the \$13,356 reported for white families, but higher than the \$7,808 reported median income of black families. Among Hispanic families, Cubans and Central and South Americans had the highest incomes. In 1973 the median income of these families was \$11,191 while Mexican families had a median income of \$8,435, and Puerto Rican families had one of \$6,779¹ (more than \$1,000 below black median incomes).

Also, the labor participation rate of Puerto Rican women is among the lowest of the nation. In 1975 the proportion of women in the civilian labor force age 20 and older was 44.9 percent for whites, 50.9 percent for blacks, and 43.9 percent for Hispanics.² Among Hispanic women, Puerto Ricans had a labor participation rate of 33.7 percent as compared with 40.3 percent for Mexicans and 49.7 percent for other women of Hispanic origin.³

If we compare the labor force participation of Puerto Rican men and women we find again that there is a significant difference. In 1970 while the highest percentage of males in the labor force is between the ages of 35 and 44 years with 88.2 percent, the highest participation of females is between the ages of 20 and 24 with only 39.2 percent in the labor force.⁴

In order to have an idea of the magnitude of the employment problem of Puerto Rican women statistical facts can be presented. According to the 1970 Census there were

1,391,463 Puerto Ricans living in the continental United States, 706,911 (50.8 percent) of them women.⁵ Of the female population 16 years and older there were 133,790 (31.6 percent) employed, leaving 290,166 women out of the labor force.⁶ Moreover, Puerto Rican women are concentrated in low paying jobs. Approximately 81.7 percent of those working are in the areas of operatives (39.8 percent), clerical (29.6 percent), and services (12.3 percent).⁷

In order to understand the employability problem of the WIN clients one must look not only into the mechanisms of institutional discrimination against women and minorities, but also into the quality of their labor. Labor quality is mainly a function of three variables: (1) education, (2) training or skills, and (3) experience. In the case of Puerto Rican women there is an important fourth variable, language. In summary, we suggest that there are four main barriers to effective employability of Puerto Rican women: (1) deficient knowledge of the English language, (2) lack of formal education, (3) concentration in low-skilled jobs, and (4) deficient record of work experience.

CHARACTERIZATION OF THE HISPANIC CLIENTS

This inquiry was conceived primarily as exploratory rather than explanatory because there is very little information about the problem. In fact, the WIN demonstration model started with the notion that there was an employment problem, but its complexity was ill-known. For purposes of evaluation we define effective employability as those jobs

that allow women to support themselves and their families without financial aid from city, state, and/or federal welfare agencies; that is quality jobs in terms of salary, probability of long term retention, and promotion.

In order to have a profile of the Hispanic unit's clients, a survey was conducted in which eight variables were examined.

1. *WIN classification*: Most of the cases (79 percent) were mandatory.
2. *Age*: The majority (81 percent) are in their productive years (19-39 years old).
3. *Education*: 60 percent have nine or less years of formal education and 4 percent have over twelve years.
4. *Language proficiency*: 71.3 percent of the clients had problems with the English language; 20 percent are bilingual; and 8 percent are proficient in English.
5. *Employment history*: 76.3 percent of the clients had a deficient work history; 35.4 percent have never worked. Only 23 percent of all cases have remained at the same job for over two years.
6. *Type of occupation*: 78.1 percent are unskilled workers. Approximately 20 percent have experience with white collar jobs.
7. *Number of children*: The majority have few children (1-4) and 8 percent have more than five.
8. *Employment barriers*: Language -- 44.8 percent; lack of skills and/or experience -- 36.7 percent; health -- 9.1 percent; family problems -- 4.5 percent; cultural/social attitudes -- 4.5 percent.

The conclusion was that "a prima facie it seems that even if these women wanted to work, their chances are very limited. They are not competitive in the American job market because they lack education, knowledge of English, skills and experience. However, they have to their

advantage the fact that they are young and have few children." (See Table 1.)

After the survey, a questionnaire was constructed. The questionnaire addressed mainly three areas: (1) a characterization of the clients, (2) the work history of the clients, and (3) the clients' relation to the Welfare-WIN system. The first part of the questionnaire included socio-economic and attitudinal questions. The second part probed the employment experiences of the clients, particularly the problematic aspects.

A sample of seventy cases was randomly selected from the total WIN Hispanic women.⁸ The first fifty cases were the cases intended to be interviewed, and the last twenty were substitutes. There were nine clients of the Hispanic Unit in the original sample. Thirteen cases had to be substituted.⁹

The questionnaire was administered in person by the evaluator. Most of the interviews were in the homes of the clients. However, since the problem of locating clients extended the original schedule, it was decided to have some of the interviews in the office in order to speed the process. Nevertheless, the interviews lasted eight weeks when they were originally scheduled to last three weeks only.

TABLE 1
SUMMARY OF SURVEY OF DEMONSTRATION MODEL
(9/1978). N=100

Variable	Number of Cases	Percent
Number of Registrants	100	
Mandatory	79	79
Voluntary	21	21
Age	100	
16-18	2	2
19-29	32	32
30-39	49	49
40-60	17	17
Years of Education	100	
No schooling	2	2
7 or less	30	30
8-9	28	28
10-12	36	36
Over 12	4	4
Language Problem	70	
Illiterate	3	4.2
No English	19	27.1
Limited English	28	40
English	6	8.5
Bilingual	14	20
Employment History	93	
Never worked	33	35.4
Short-term employment	38	40.8
Employed over 2 years	22	23.6
Type of occupation	64	
Farm	1	1.5
Unskilled	30	46.8
Semi-skilled	19	29.6
Clerical/Sales	5	7.8
Skilled	1	1.5
Service (not private)	8	12.5
Number of Children	94	
1-2	50	53.1
3-4	36	38.2
5-6	6	6.3
7 and over	2	2.1
Barriers to Employment	87	
Health	8	9.1
Language	39	44.8
Skills and Experience	32	36.7
Family Problems	4	4.5
Cultural/Social Attitudes	4	4.5

Source: WIN Hispanic files

Socioeconomic and Demographic Data

The average WIN Hispanic female can be described as a 36 year old Puerto Rican-born woman, with seven years of education, who has had an average of two jobs during her life (mainly as a factory worker); she is the sole head of a household comprising about four persons (including herself), and is unable to communicate in English.

The ages of the WIN clients ranged from 17 to 63 years, with a mean of 36.3 years.

As expected, the education level of this group is low. On the average, the Hispanic clients have finished seven years of schooling. Only 10 percent of the cases have high school diplomas, and none has post-high school education. Some of the high school diplomas were obtained through equivalency tests.

There was no significant relationship between the ages of the clients and their education, nor between education and the number of children. Neither was there a significant difference in education between those in the Hispanic Unit and those who were not; nor was this variable significant when related to the length of time receiving welfare. This is probably due to the fact that the education variable has very little variation, that is, most of the clients had very little education.

Client age also proved not to have a significant relation to length of time on welfare nor to the client's

status in the program. However, the relationship between age and number of children was highly significant. There seems to be a direct relationship between age and number of children; that is, the older the person the more likely that she has a larger number of children. This is probably due to changing values and attitudes towards motherhood, and the availability of birth control methods. Even when we controlled for education the difference persisted.¹⁰

The overwhelming majority of the clients were born in Puerto Rico; that is, most of them are migrants to the United States. There is a multiplicity of factors that explain their migration but the main reason is economic, that is, lack of economic opportunities in Puerto Rico. Most of them came to the United States looking for jobs on the mainland. Table 2 presents a classification of client motives for moving from one location to another (includes both from Puerto Rico to the United States and between different cities on the mainland).

TABLE 2
GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY OF CLIENTS
(N=108)

Cause	Number	Percent
Economic	23	21.2
Marriage	15	13.8
Separation from husband	11	10.1
Looking for change/ better place to live	19	17.5
Family brought along	9	8.3
Health	4	3.7
Had relatives in New Haven	20	18.5
Other	7	6.4

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A deeper probe into the mobility would show that many (64 percent) of the migrants moved directly from the countryside or small town directly to the mainland. Moreover, many moved directly to Connecticut. Ten cases moved first to New York, thirty-one moved to Connecticut, and six to other States. Of those that first moved to Connecticut, twenty-eight moved first to New Haven, two to Hartford, and one to Bridgeport. One of the reasons why they moved to New Haven was that they had relatives in the city who helped and/or encouraged them to relocate. Furthermore, there seems to be a pattern of mobility that relates to their dependence upon welfare. Although many migrated to the United States looking for jobs and better opportunities, they came to New Haven as a consequence of a marital breakdown. The breakup of their marriages is the catalytic element in their entering the welfare system. The typical story is that of a woman who comes to the United States looking for a job for herself and/or following a husband who later deserts her leaving her to care for two or three children. She suddenly had thrust upon her the sole financial responsibility of supporting herself and her family. It is at this point that they go to the welfare office for help.

One of the significant characteristics of this group is that they are heads of households. Only 10 percent of the clients are presently living with their husbands; while 60 percent are divorced or separated.

Of those not presently married 78 percent said that they do not receive financial aid from the father of their children.

An average household is composed of four people, an adult and three children. Most of the children are seven years and older. Only six cases had children six years and younger.

Since most of the children are of school age, they too depend financially on public support thus making the entire household dependent. Fifty-eight percent of the cases depend solely on welfare; the rest either work or have some form of welfare supplement. As stated before, the majority of the cases do not receive financial aid from the father. The children, in most cases, do not have handicaps (66 percent) and are attending school (40 percent). Of those that reported children with handicaps, most were school related problems.

A look into the background of the clients can shed some light onto their problems. The majority of the clients described the families in which they were raised as poor or very poor (82 percent). Those few clients who described their families as middle class, meant that they "had enough to eat." Almost half of the cases (46 percent) were raised in a household where one of the parents was missing; 22 percent lived with the mother in a female-headed household.

The clients have a definite rural background. Fifty-four percent were born in the countryside, and

26 percent in small, quasi-rural towns. More evidence is the fact that 42 percent of their fathers were engaged in agricultural occupations, mainly as farm laborers.

The educational level of the clients was very low, but not as low as that of their parents. The difference in education can be attributed to the enlargement of the educational system in Puerto Rico as a consequence of the Island's industrialization program.

A deeper probe into the personal history of the client's mother revealed that about half of them never worked outside the home. When asked whether the mother worked at least one year after getting married, 30 percent answered affirmatively while 50 percent said no (20 percent did not know). In the case of whether the mother worked before the client started the first grade, 28 percent were working, 50 percent were not working, and 22 percent did not know. By the time the clients had sixteen years, the proportion of working mothers dropped to 22 percent, while the proportion of not working mothers increased to 60 percent. This is probably due to traditional values that define a woman's place as limited to the home taking care of the children. It is also due to the large number of children that these women had which, on the average, means that each client had seven siblings.

The last aspect to be discussed in this section is the language proficiency of the clients. As expected there was a large proportion of cases with serious language problems. Approximately 80 percent of the cases

have problems of communicating in English. Moreover, among the clients 20 to 30 percent are functionally illiterate in both Spanish and English.

Opinions and Attitudes

As expected, the clients had very conservative values. The majority believed that a woman's place is in the home, especially when there are young children. In fact, they showed a great resistance to the idea that mothers of young children should work. When asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement "Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men," 66 percent answered affirmatively, 58 percent of those strongly. Although 74 percent of the clients approved of a married woman working outside the home, only 30 percent did so when there was a husband capable of providing support. When asked whether a mother of young children should work outside the home, only 28 percent approved the idea.

There are several explanations for these opinions. One can think first of the way the Hispanic culture defines the role of women mainly as homemakers. Although it is acceptable that a woman work outside the home, it is seen as a situation caused by economic need: an accepted deviation from the ideal. There are, nevertheless, other factors associated with this behavior. Education, for example, is highly associated with the client's belief

that the mother of young children should work outside the home.

We investigated the attitudes of the clients to determine whether they were related to employment and/or welfare history. Two relations proved to be statistically significant. There is a significant difference in the length of time on welfare between clients who agreed that a woman's place is in the home and those who did not. Those who agreed very strongly are more likely to be those who have been receiving public support for a longer period of time. Moreover, we found that those who strongly disagreed with the idea were those likely to have had two jobs or less.

In general, the issue of child care seems to be an overriding concern of the clients, one that has relevance to their determination to work or not. The clients worried much about their children's safety when they were not around to supervise. Generally, they do not trust others to care for them, regardless of the child's age. When asked how much they thought their children needed them, 94 percent answered very much and much. Responses such as "a mother is the greatest thing there is in life," or "they will need me all their lives, until God takes care of them" were very common. But, again, we have to remember the particular situation of these women. Most of them are raising their children alone, they have to be both mother and father to them. Their belief in the great dependency of a child upon the mother (regardless of age) therefore has an understandable basis.

There is one final point to be made regarding the attitudes of the clients. We were struck by the fatalistic attitude of many of the clients. Although they might not be satisfied with their financial situation or their lives, they expressed an acceptance of their fate. In some cases the conformity had a religious overtone ("At least one is alive," "one has to thank God"); in others there was the recognition that whatever little they have is more than they had in Puerto Rico. There were clients, nevertheless, who showed great assertiveness. But the person that seemed the most assertive of the sample was one who was no longer dependent upon welfare at the time of the interview. This was a woman who had made a conscious decision to leave welfare and support herself and her family on her own. Usually, the most assertive clients were younger and worked outside the home. The most conformist were older women who had never worked. As a result of talking to the clients, it became clear to us that lack of assertiveness and clinging to traditional values and mores was an important component of their employability problem.

Employment History

The clients of the WIN program are concentrated in low-skill, low-paying occupations. The majority are operatives, usually in the lowest rung of this sector (for example, packers, floor girls, etc.) A similar situation is found among those working in

white-collar occupations for most are teachers' aides or nurses' aides.

There is evidence to support the idea that any change in the employment concentration of the clients is going to be hard to achieve. First, when asked what kind of job they would prefer, most of them expressed interest in white collar jobs. Nevertheless, upon looking at the whole picture, we find that basically they are referring to those very same jobs they are holding in operative, clerical and service occupations. Moreover, on the whole, they exhibited a negative attitude towards non-traditional occupations. When asked whether they approved or disapproved of a woman working at a construction site, 82 percent answered negatively. Seventy-six percent believed that women should not work at certain jobs. In elaborating the clients named construction, electrician, driver (bus and/or truck), security person, police, fire fighter, agriculture; mainly what they referred to as "heavy jobs."

Although there was strong rejection of the concept of women working in non-traditional occupations among the clients, they were aware of other women doing such jobs. Even though they knew that women could actually do "men's jobs" they still believed that it was not proper for them to do so. This idea is strongly held among those who are less educated. In the study we found this idea to be held most strongly by women who had seven or less years of education. The apparent lack of motivation by the clients is not due solely to limited education or their

misconceptions about the nature of non-traditional employment. The women in our study showed cognizance of the nature of their employment and awareness of the opportunities available to them, given the handicaps that they have. For example, after inquiring as to desired occupation we probed into the reasons for not effecting a change. Of those who expressed a desire for change 26 percent recognized that they could not do so because they lacked the necessary skills, while only 2 percent said that they were afraid of change itself. Moreover, when asked whether they wanted to get a job outside of the home, 48 percent answered affirmatively; but when asked whether they felt that they could get a job the proportion answering affirmatively dropped to 34 percent. What is more interesting, the reason why many felt that they could get a job is that they always can get a job in a factory.

As expected, the work history of the clients was very poor. Twenty percent of the clients did not have any work experience. Among those who had worked, the time spent on a job was so little that it did not allow them to gain much experience nor to develop a good work history. Of those who had worked, 44.7 percent retained the same job for two or more years. For those who have stayed less than two years in the same job 18 percent have remained less than six months; 18 percent (nine) have remained between six and twelve months; and 6 percent have remained for more than one year but for less than two years.

During the interviews we encountered only ten clients (20 percent) who were working outside the home. Two of them were in school. Those not working at the time of the interview had been unemployed for an average of three years. Nine clients have been unemployed for less than a year and eight have been unemployed for more than ten years. (Thirty-two worked in the home as housewives.) The reasons for not working at the time of the interview included health and child care problems, as well as not having looked for a job and/or inability to get one. Moreover, it seems that the clients' stay out of the labor force began before their arrival to New Haven. Of all the clients interviewed only 6 had been employed during the period immediately before moving to New Haven.

Other Obstacles to Employability

From what we have discussed already it seems that for WIN's Hispanic clients the stay outside the working force is the rule rather than the exception. There are, nevertheless, several factors that account for this situation. The Hispanic woman faces a different array of problems that prevents her from effective employment. We have discussed already some of the obstacles, i.e., language problems, lack of education, and little skills and/or work experience.

Health, both mental and physical, is a serious obstacle to effective employability. There is an

unusually high incidence of pulmonary problems which might be related to the fact that there is a large proportion of Hispanic females who are factory workers in the apparel industry. Most of the health problems seem work related such as asthma and other allergies due to high fiber content in the air as well as back pain and problems with muscles in the arms and hands. There were striking incidences of mental health problems and similarity of symptoms in this group which were serious enough to impair the ability to work. Some of the problems arose following marital separation, when a woman found herself totally alone and unprepared to face the responsibility of single-handedly caring for a household. The fact that they have to look to welfare for help does not seem to alleviate the problem. Rather than easing the situational burden, being dependent on welfare creates a negative self-image that seems to place an added strain upon these clients.

A summary of the obstacles to effective employability as expressed by the clients is shown in Table 3. The category "Other" includes answers such as pregnancy, don't want to work in factory, legal problems, or simply that the client never looked for a job.

There were two other problems that were not acknowledged by the clients as such. The first has to do with job-seeking methods utilized by the clients. Only one client used the newspaper as a source of information; 42 percent of the clients relied upon friends and/or relatives to find out about jobs. The rest of the clients

TABLE 3
OBSTACLES TO EFFECTIVE EMPLOYABILITY
(N=132)

Problem	Number	Percent
Language	28	21.2
Health	24	18.1
Child Care	18	13.6
Education	17	12.8
Mental Health	12	9.0
Skills/Experience	12	9.0
Transportation	9	6.8
Other	12	9.0

either sought out openings themselves or were helped by WIN employees. However, the WIN employees do not/have not succeeded in helping the clients to learn how to move about in the city which also limits the number of sites that can be visited. This behavior indicates that many of them do not know all of the services available to help them in their job-hunting.

The second problem that went unacknowledged by the clients is their lack of information about their employment rights. We asked the clients whether they felt they had been discriminated against in a job because of their sex and/or nationality. To our surprise, the majority said they never experienced employment discrimination. When we probed to determine what they considered discrimination, it was defined as "when you ask for a job, you don't get it because you are Puerto Rican." Although hiring can be an important part of discriminatory practices, it constitutes neither the sole nor the major one. What the clients overlooked was discrimination in terms of wages, promotions, benefits, employment referral,

training, or other of the multiple privileges of employment.

Lack of knowledge of their rights as employees is a handicap that can have far-reaching consequences. A case in point is the situation of a client who had an accident on the job that left her unable to do manual work. She never received any form of compensation and was fired shortly after the accident. As she told us:

I didn't know what to do so I didn't press.
They knew that I wasn't going to do anything,
I was new in New Haven, a Hispanic. Now I
can't use my hand.

To the extent that the clients do not or cannot get workmen's compensation they must depend upon public assistance. Obviously, helping clients to become aware of their employment rights would make employers fulfill their responsibilities thereby freeing the welfare system from taking over what should rightfully be job compensation.

A final point must be made regarding the issue of discrimination. Thus far we have discussed only the legal aspects of discrimination. First, the clients are unaware of an institutional discriminatory system that conditions them to work in "all-Hispanic, all-women" jobs. In addition, since they rely on reduced sources of information (such as family and friends) the likelihood is that they will be directed into those jobs where Hispanics traditionally concentrate, thus reinforcing the "labor ghettoization" of the Spanish-speaking females.

When a client says "I've never been discriminated against, I always can get a job in a factory," she does not realize that (1) her employment options are reduced drastically and (2) the confluence of her ignorance, lack of counseling, and institutional structures will result in her being discriminated against.

THE WIN PROGRAM AND THE HISPANIC WOMAN: CONCLUSIONS

After studying the data on the WIN/welfare history of the Hispanic clients we have to conclude that (1) dependence upon welfare has become a way of life for many of the clients and (2) the WIN program not only has failed to improve the employability of its Hispanic clients, it has also failed to generate an understanding of its objectives and programs.

In the context of this research we define dependence upon welfare as a situation the characteristics of which indicate that (1) the stay on welfare seems to lack a temporary nature, thus making it more of a permanent and/or exclusive source of income, and (2) that there seems to be a vicious circle of multigenerational dependence within families.

But a significant number of clients reported a desire to leave welfare and gave strong reasons, too. Many complained about the violation of their privacy, the time wasted at the welfare office, and the negative image of welfare recipients. They realized also that there are

benefits that they are not entitled to because they do not work (such as Social Security, credit or purchasing a house). In fact, there is some evidence to the fact that those who have not worked or only worked very little are more likely to prefer to stay on welfare.

Of all the clients interviewed only 10 percent had secured a job with WIN's help. Of this group only one was very satisfied with the job; the others had complaints, which is not surprising since most of the clients were sent to factories or nursing homes for work. Many expressed the belief that, because they are Puerto Rican, their abilities were underestimated with the result that they were "always sent to do the worst jobs."

The difficulties faced by the WIN clients are not unique to them nor are they merely characteristic of welfare recipients. On the contrary these problems are characteristic of Puerto Rican workers in the United States. If anything can be said about the cases under study it is that their problems are more intense than those of the larger Puerto Rican population however, basically, they are of the same nature. Language, as an example, is a major problem for most Puerto Ricans in the United States. In fact, the majority of Puerto Ricans in the mainland United States use Spanish as the primary means of communication. A 1976 study by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported that:

More than 83 percent of mainland Puerto Ricans report that Spanish is their mother tongue

compared with 72 percent of Mexican Americans and 95 percent of Cuban Americans. As for "language usually spoken in the home," only 27 percent of the Puerto Ricans reported that it was English. More than 72 percent usually spoke Spanish at home, compared with 47 percent of Mexican Americans and 87 percent of the Cuban Americans.¹¹

Language, insofar as it limits greatly the options available, constitutes a barrier to the integration of Hispanics to mainstream America.

Lack of formal education is also a major obstacle faced by Hispanic clients. This, too, is part of a larger educational problem of Puerto Ricans in the United States. In 1974, the median school years completed by Puerto Rican women in the United States was 9.5. Among Puerto Rican women 25 years and older, 29 percent had finished twelve or more years of education.¹² For the sample studied, the median years of education was lower, 7.0 years. This can be an explanation for the intensity of the problems of the clients vis-à-vis the larger Hispanic female population.

The occupational concentration problem of the Hispanic clients in the WIN program is, again, generalized among Puerto Ricans in the United States. Puerto Ricans are concentrated at low occupational levels. For the women, the probability of being in a low paying and low skill occupation was higher than that for American women in general. In 1974, of the employed Hispanic women, 30 percent were operatives, including transport, 28 percent

were clerical workers, and 23 percent were service workers. For the American female population in general, the proportions were 35 percent clerical workers, 21 percent service workers, and 13 percent operatives including transport.¹³ In the main, those women who were operatives worked as seamstresses, assemblers, and packers; those in clerical and kindred occupational groups were secretaries, typists, bookkeepers, and cashiers; and those in the service sectors were concentrated in food, health, personal and maintenance service areas.

The situation of the Hispanic WIN client is not much different. The Demonstration Model has served to reinforce a pattern of "labor ghettoization." For example, of the 43 cases of unsubsidized employment in the Hispanic Unit, 11 are packers, 12 are white collar workers (2 day care aides, 3 teachers' aides, 3 nurses' aides, 2 clerks, 1 key punch operator, and 1 librarian). The wage for the packers is \$2.66 per hour, the lowest of all the clients in unsubsidized employment. The highest wage was \$4.91 per hour, for the librarian.

A final consideration is how the fluctuations of the market affects the work experience of the clients. This is due to the fact that Puerto Ricans, women in particular, are concentrated in industries characterized by large seasonal unemployment. That is, the number of employees and the number of working hours are highly elastic. For example, in New York City, the employment in the apparel industry moved 8 percent between the months

of high and low employment in 1968, 19 percent in the miscellaneous manufacturers, and 3 percent in the City's industries as a whole.¹⁴

So, we have to add seasonality to the already long list of employment problems of the Hispanic client. Other problems like transportation and little knowledge of legal rights can be related to the client's little education. It should not be hard to understand that a person who cannot read or write or who has problems in these skills, would have problems taking buses, getting a driver's license; much less to knowing her civil rights.

We do not want to finish without making a comment about the Hispanic Unit. So far we have presented some negative criticism of the project. This does not mean that we consider the program a failure. Although the effectiveness of the program cannot be scientifically assessed, some statements can be made about it. First, given the short time that the program has been in existence and the extent of the problem, it is very unreasonable to expect significant results. Second, most of the mistakes made by the program are due to insufficient information of the complexity of the problem the program is dealing with. Hopefully, this report will alleviate this problem. Finally, we think that the importance of the program lies in that it started to deal with the problem. Its basic idea of dedicating special attention to these problematic cases is correct; it just needs more

specification. Now the program is at a point where those adjustments can and should be made. The need for special help for Hispanic women has been amply documented in this report. There is no doubt in our minds of the need for programs such as this. That is why we believe that the WIN Demonstration Model, with some modifications, can become an effective instrument to improve the employability of its clients of Hispanic origin.

NOTES

- ¹U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau. *La Mujer de Origen Hispano en los Estados Unidos* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 15.
- ²*Ibid.*, p. 9.
- ³*Ibid.*, p. 10.
- ⁴U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Subject Reports: Puerto Ricans in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 32.
- ⁵*Ibid.*, p. 1.
- ⁶*Ibid.*, p. 54.
- ⁷*Ibid.*, p. 33.
- ⁸Originally we planned to study solely the clients of the Hispanic Unit (or Demonstration Model). However, the clients for this special program were selected in a non-random way. Although the employees of the Hispanic Unit were instructed to select clients from different levels of education, age and work experience, the main selection criterion was people interested in participating in the program. The sampling bias of the Hispanic Unit made

it impossible for us to determine scientifically the effectiveness of the Demonstration Model. Thus, we decided to select our sample from the total Hispanic female population of the Win program. At the time, the WIN program's Hispanic female population ranged between 500-550 clients; the Hispanic Unit had about 100 clients.

⁹The reasons for substitutions were: no current address available; no longer receiving public assistance and therefore no current address available; missed more than four appointments; refused to be interviewed; non-Hispanic; and name was repeated on list.

The need for thirteen substitutions is an indication of the problems involved in working with the clients, from the point of view of the WIN program. Even when addresses were correct it was extremely difficult to find the clients. Many of them purposely did not keep their appointments or tried to discourage the evaluator by rescheduling the appointment several times. In some instances it seemed as though the person no longer lived in the State, although her name was on the welfare lists. This lack of cooperation on the part of the clients resulted in the closing of a large number of cases within the Hispanic unit.

¹⁰Variable age by number of children controlling for education was significant for the first value of education

(0-7 years) at 0.065; for the second value (8-11) at 0.005; and for the third value (12) at 0.082.

¹¹U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. *Puerto Ricans in the Continental United States: An Uncertain Future* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976), p. 32.

¹²*La Mujer de Origen Hispano en Los Estados Unidos*, p. 7.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁴U.S. Department of Labor. "The New York Puerto Ricans: Patterns of Work Experience" in *Puerto Rico and the Puerto Ricans: Studies in History and Society*, eds. Adalberto Lopez and James Petras (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1974), p. 364-65.

MEXICAN UNDOCUMENTED WOMEN WORKERS IN LOS ANGELES:

A RESEARCH NOTE

Reynaldo Baca and Dexter Bryan

Unlike other major studies of Mexican undocumented workers, our recent (1979-80) Residency Rights survey includes a large number of women -- 562 or almost 40 percent of the 1,414 undocumented workers interviewed. The absence of women in other studies is not likely to reflect the newness of women participating in illegal immigration but rather the methods used by other researchers. For example, the North and Houston study, perhaps the most cited study of illegal aliens, relies on Immigration and Naturalization detection and apprehension procedures to generate a sample of incarcerated aliens. If these researchers had entered the world of undocumented workers they would have found that, although women are more "invisible" than men, they have been involved in illegal migration for a long time. In our sample, women are well represented in the group of long-term residents, persons who have been in the United States from eight to twenty years (20 percent of the women as compared to 25 percent of the men).

Like the majority of men in our sample, the majority of women live in a binational community and are following a Mexican dream. Not transients or migrants in the conventional sense, both men and women in our study tend to live in established undocumented worker communities that are linked to feeder communities in Mexico. Making use of an occupational-kinship network, undocumented workers work in the United States for extended periods but also maintain a life in Mexico.

The binational adaptation of undocumented workers is reflected in their native citizenship loyalty and settlement patterns. Like men, the majority of women in our study would not relinquish their native citizenship and prefer a permanent alien resident status to United States citizenship (77 percent for both men and women). Citizenship aspirations of women did, unlike those of men, vary with occupational experiences in the United States. Those women who would relinquish their native citizenship tend to have experienced occupational mobility. For men, these two variables were not correlated. While we cannot say that occupational mobility significantly changes women's attitudes towards citizenship any more than we can say that it does not for men (inasmuch as we have no prior measures of attitudes before entering the job market in the United States), we can infer that women are more affected by occupational experiences in the United States than are men. Consistent with these

citizenship aspirations, the vast majority of undocumented workers, both men and women, in our study value rights associated with residency rather than rights associated with United States citizenship. Access to public education for their children and access to medical services (which 98 percent stated they would pay for) were ranked highest in the undocumented workers' ratings of residency rights, with the right to vote and to join a union ranked lowest.

Women were also similar to men in making return visits to Mexico. Although women who are short-term residents tend to go home less often than short-term resident men, the majority of men and women in our study have returned to Mexico since first entering the United States. Also like men, the number of return visits by women increases successively in each of the four duration-of-residency groups (i.e., first year residents, short-term residents, intermediate-term residents, and long-term residents). Men and women in our study do not view living in both the United States and Mexico as abnormal, and relinquishing native citizenship would be giving up the opportunities associated with Mexican citizenship that are integral to the dream of the betterment of family life that brought undocumented workers to the United States.

OCCUPATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF MIGRATION

The occupational experiences of women have also been similar to those of men. Like men, women did not begin working in the United States as agricultural workers. They, like most men, entered the United States as unskilled workers. For the men this meant beginning in a restaurant or carwash; for women, this meant entering work as domestics. The second largest at-entry occupational category for women is the same for men -- about 25 percent of both men and women in our study first entered the United States to work as semiskilled operatives. Also like men, occupational mobility after entry tends to be limited to semiskilled factory work: 62 percent of the men who have experienced occupational mobility since first entering the United States ended up as semiskilled factory workers compared to 68 percent of the women who ended up as semiskilled factory workers.

While operative level jobs have constituted the occupational ceiling for undocumented workers (both men and women) women do differ slightly in terms of their adaptation to the process of occupational mobility. Women in our study have not left their domestic entry-level jobs as much as men have left their at-entry unskilled service jobs. While the majority of men and women hold on to their operative positions once they acquire them, a slightly larger percentage of women stay

at this position more than do men. Hence, mobility to more prestigious jobs occurs less often among women. While such mobility is a pattern only for a minority of undocumented workers, there are fewer women who have acquired white collar jobs than there are men who have moved into blue collar, skilled crafts positions. Still, the pattern is the same for most undocumented workers, either beginning or ending as operatives.

The impact of individual occupational mobility on the group's occupational participation is similar for both men and women. Individual occupational mobility has resulted in a concentration of both groups in semi-skilled operative positions rather than moving the undocumented worker population up the occupational ladder. Slightly more than 25 percent of the men began as operatives; now currently 46 percent of the men are also employed in semi-skilled factory work. Similarly, 24.5 percent of the women began as operatives, and now 40.1 percent are employed as operatives.

While many United States citizens also work as semiskilled operatives, there is a tendency for United States citizens to leave these positions and seek jobs that provide better income, more security, and are adjudged to have greater ego gratification -- i.e., United States citizens try to move from the secondary labor market to the primary labor market. In occupying unskilled service jobs and moving to and staying in semiskilled

operative jobs both men and women undocumented workers constitute a tertiary labor force of persons who are permanently fixed in the secondary labor market.

Besides describing the actual employment patterns of undocumented workers, these workers were asked what they would do with respect to their jobs if they acquired documents. As with men, the prospect of legal documents did not heighten women's occupational aspirations beyond semiskilled factory work. Most undocumented workers in the study would not change their jobs if they acquired legal documents (80 percent of the men and 60 percent of the women). The minority who would change their jobs is primarily composed of persons working in unskilled service jobs. This is especially true for women. Almost 70 percent of those women who would change jobs are currently employed as domestics. And, only 21 percent of the women employed as domestics said they would keep their jobs if they acquired legal documents. Conversely, the aspirations for job change are not prevalent among those persons who are currently employed as semiskilled operatives. Of the 46.1 percent of men employed as operatives, over 75 percent would keep their jobs if they acquired legal documents. A similar pattern exists for women whereby 70 percent of the 40.1 percent of women employed as operatives would keep their jobs.

By and large, the aspirations of those who would change jobs with the acquisition of legal documents

corresponds to the typical pattern of occupational mobility experienced by those without papers -- i.e., most of the undocumented workers who would leave their current jobs if they were to obtain legal papers aspire to obtain semiskilled factory jobs like those obtained by most of the undocumented workers who have left their entry-level jobs. Again, this is especially true among women employed as domestics. Here, where mobility aspirations are most prevalent, nearly 90 percent of those who hope to change jobs would seek factory work.

There is a minority of women who are operatives, 3 percent of all women in the sample, who hope to become clerical workers if and when they acquire legal documents. Similarly, there is a minority of men who have aspirations that exceed the actual current gains of the class of undocumented workers, a group of operatives who hope to become skilled blue collar workers if they could acquire legal documents -- less than 5 percent of all men in the sample. Those who anticipate stepping up the occupational ladder beyond operative work to more prestigious jobs constitute a small minority that is not distinguished by sex.

Recognizing that aspirations are not necessarily reflecting actual behavior, a comparison of the distribution of aspired-to occupations to current occupational participation suggests that even the hypothetical realization of all individual aspirations would not result in

a significant upward mobility for the population of undocumented workers. For men the impact of realized occupational aspirations on their actual occupational participation in the future would be limited to reducing the number of men who are currently employed as service workers. There is virtually no difference in the proportion of men who would be employed as craftspersons if aspirations became realized than in the proportion of men currently employed in this type of work. As with men, the most significant impact of realized occupational aspirations for women is the reduction of women employed in unskilled service work, specifically women employed as private household workers. Women are different from men in that the proportion of women in operative positions would be seriously affected by the realization of women's occupational aspirations -- from 40.1 percent in 1979 to 53.1 percent in the hypothesized future. The coalescence of women's aspirations to become operatives with most operatives' interest in retaining their jobs contributes to undocumented workers becoming and remaining operative workers. That is, semiskilled factory work is an occupational ceiling for undocumented workers that rests both upon employment experiences and occupational aspirations.

The process of migration and the employment opportunities associated with it are thus similar for men and women. Both men and women depend upon occupational-kinship networks and their *parentesco* (their nonresidential

extended nuclear family system) in migrating to the United States to find, primarily, unskilled jobs. The basic adaptation to illegal immigration is similar, with both groups obtaining or hoping to obtain semi-skilled factory jobs while exhibiting native citizenship loyalty and a long-term pattern of return visits to Mexico.

SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF MIGRATION.

Women differ from men most in terms of the social dimensions of migration -- i.e., in terms of their relations with and attitudes towards others involved in the migration experience. While most undocumented workers live with kin or *paisanos* (compatriots usually from the same *pueblo* or feeder state) when working in the United States, women tend to live with *amigas* (friends, usually not from the same *pueblo* or feeder state) more than men do. Thirty-one percent of the women live with friends as compared to 18 percent of the men. This difference in the social composition of United States-based living arrangements among men and women suggests that some women are leaving, either by choice or by necessity, the *parentesco* network more than are men.

Women differ from men also in terms of the persons they associate with resettlement aspirations. When asked if they would bring persons from Mexico to the United States if they acquired legal papers, the majority of women, like the majority of men, responded affirmatively

(85 percent of women and 73 percent of men). Much of these aspirations are directed towards parents rather than other family members, suggesting that for both men and women the expression of interest in resettling kin is likely to reflect a commitment to family life in Mexico rather than practical plans for relocating relatives. In saying that they want to bring their parents to the United States, undocumented workers are most likely, or often, reflecting cultural prescriptions in their priorities -- i.e., they may want to share some amenities of United States life with those persons to whom they are most obligated. However, while men and women share, in general, loyalties to parents and a commitment to family unification, married women were much less interested in relocating their husbands than were men interested in bringing their wives to the United States. The majority (52 percent of married men not living with their wives or spouse/family units, said they would relocate their wives as compared to a minority (22.6 percent) of the married women. Also, unlike men, the proportion of women who want to relocate their husbands does not significantly decrease in each of the four duration-of-residency groups. The proportion of women who would relocate their spouses is low and remains low in each of our duration-of-residency groups. The consistency in the proportion of married women aspiring to relocate their husbands could mean that the issue of separating

from their spouses was resolved before this cohort of women left Mexico.

Most married women not living with their spouses desire to bring other kin rather than their husbands to the United States and, for the most part, this kin group involves children. The small proportion of married women separated from spouses who do not aspire to relocate spouses and the frequency of child/relative resettlement aspirations among this cohort of women suggest that many of them are contemplating an extended separation from their husbands and, perhaps would (with the acquisition of legal documents) bring their children or their children and relatives (most likely parents) to the United States and constitute a new relocated single-parent family. We hypothesize that for this cohort of women that their interest in relocating parents differs from men and those married women living with their spouses in that parents may be viewed as integral to establishing a family in the United States, perhaps with grandparents taking care of children while the women work.

Married men who have migrated without their wives are following a pattern well established in the Mexican folklore of migration. Leaving one's wife in Mexico is not seen as an act of desertion, but rather expected behavior that is positively sanctioned and supported by the *parentesco*. Paradoxically, with the support of the *parentesco*, a married man's extended stay in the United

States can enhance rather than threaten his marital and family life. Staying in the United States for extended periods, regularly returning and communicating with home, a married man is likely to increase the financial solvency of both the *parentesco* and his own nuclear family -- often returning home with the money necessary for establishing a separate residence from the larger *parentesco* subsidizes the undocumented worker's sojourn in the United States by providing emotional support and protection for the wife and children. Married men supported by the *parentesco* are more free in making choices regarding their pattern of settlement in the United States than are their female counterparts for whom long-term residence is often directly related to the degree of difficulty in facilitating return migration.

Married men can stay in the United States without their spouses, or bring their spouses to the United States, or, after a period of time return with their wives to Mexico. Married men have more options than married women. It is thus more likely that many married men separated from their wives will *not*, with the acquisition of a legal resident status, permanently relocate their wives and children in the United States even if a slight majority of men separated from their wives and children aspire to resettle them in the United States. For married men and their families, the length of settlement in the United States is likely to reflect the practical realities

involved in the family's future adaptation as legal residents and cannot be predicted from the undocumented married man's current aspirations to resettle wife and children. The decision to resettle permanently means giving up the Mexican dream and implies a denial of the goals that originally brought undocumented workers to the United States and the curtailment of membership in a community which subsidizes and validates the undocumented worker's sojourn to the United States.

More women than men who have acquired legal papers may stay in the United States not because they desire to become United States citizens, but because Mexican women have fewer opportunities to return to Mexico or remain in the binational community. For example, many of the married women in the sample may have left Mexico in the hope of resolving personal marital problems whereby settlement in the United States becomes an alternative to divorce. The general unpopularity of divorce in Mexico and the lack of opportunities to remarry in one's hometown once a woman is divorced could contribute to the contemporary settlement patterns of those women separated from spouses and living with friends as well as the aspirations of those same women to resettle children and parents rather than husbands.

A limited opportunity structure for return migration for women is also likely to be related to their susceptibility to experiences in the United States, a

susceptibility that is reflected in our earlier reported observations that United States citizenship aspirations for women vary with occupational experiences in the United States. While women who are attached to the family are likely to follow the same pattern as men in the binational community (retaining citizenship in Mexico and following the Mexican dream) many of those who are estranged from their husbands are likely to constitute a settler population that may, in time, relinquish Mexican citizenship and settle in the United States. Their staying, like the return of other women to Mexico, is still dependent upon opportunities as defined by the larger family. Thus, cultural prescriptions regarding family are likely to outweigh individual feelings and interests regarding future plans. Hence, even if women stay in the United States, they are doing so more out of an adaptation to family life than they are because they, as individuals, have made up their minds to stay in the United States.

CONCLUSION

Our most notable finding is that the attitudes and behaviors of Mexican undocumented female workers are basically akin to those reported by and observed among the great majority of undocumented male workers. In other words, as illegal immigrants, men and women are more alike than their sex might lead us to believe. Men and women share a similar value structure which is reflected in

their commitment to resettlement, their unwillingness to relinquish native citizenship, and their desire for a permanent resident alien status. All of this reflects a binational adaptation to the process of illegal immigration, a quest for a Mexican rather than an American dream, and the evolution of a culture of migration that cuts across sex lines.

While distinguished by their similarities, notable differences were revealed. With respect to differences in living arrangements, women's tendency to live with friends may reflect a settlement pattern observed in many of our case studies of undocumented worker families. Upon initial entry to the United States, many women live in the homes of relatives as, in essence, unpaid domestics, for example, providing child care and maid service to employed family members. Desiring to acquire income, these women, once having learned rudimentary English, tend to move out of the household to become paid domestics. Away from the kin group, they meet and often end up living with other women in similar circumstances.

The structure of occupational opportunities seems to be the same for men and women. Yet, working in unskilled jobs seems to mean something different for men and women. While operative level work constitutes an occupational ceiling for most men and women, women who experience occupational mobility (primarily to operative jobs) are likely to aspire to United States citizenship

much more than are men who have experienced this occupational mobility. Again, we hypothesize that this relationship between work experiences and citizenship aspirations reflects the general susceptibility of women to United States-based experiences that emerge from women's more limited opportunities in the binational community or in more limited opportunities for return migration.

In terms of occupational aspirations, more women (39 percent) aspire to change occupations if they were to acquire legal documents. Still, by and large, these women's occupational aspirations are commensurate with the occupational gains made by men since first entering the United States, that is, converging towards factory jobs. In fact, the occupational opportunities for undocumented worker women are more like those of undocumented worker men than they are like those of United States citizen Mexican-American women.

Although the majority of all undocumented workers would, if they acquired legal papers, want to bring someone from Mexico, there were some notable differences in the resettlement aspirations of men and women. There is a tendency for women separated from their spouses to relocate their children rather than their husbands, as compared to their male counterparts. This difference could, in part, be explained by the differences in their respective adaptations to migration. The smaller

proportion of married women separated from spouses who aspire to relocate spouses and the frequency of child/relative resettlement aspirations among this cohort of women suggest that many of these women are contemplating and extended separation from their husbands and, perhaps, with legal status, relocate their children or their children and relatives (primarily parents) in the United States and thus constitute a relocated, fragmented single-parent family. This cohort of women, a small minority, would therefore constitute a potential settler population that would, in time, be amenable to relinquishing Mexican citizenship. While also being economic refugees, this cohort of women may also be migrating for personal rather than solely economic reasons.

BLACK CUBANS IN THE UNITED STATES:
BASIC DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Lourdes Casal with assistance of Yolanda Prieto*

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

It is generally accepted that black Cubans are severely underrepresented in the Cuban migration of the sixties. This underrepresentation can be understood as one result of a set of complex historical circumstances having to do primarily with social class and race. Specifically, blacks are overrepresented in the lowest occupational strata of the Cuban population, and it is among those strata one finds the lowest level of participation in Cuban emigration to the United States. A second factor has been the significant improvement, in Cuba, for blacks in terms of actual equality of opportunity since the Revolution. And, finally, also contributing to the low level of black emigration is the high expectation of encountering racial oppression and discrimination in the United States.

*The untimely death of our colleague Lourdes Casal prevented her completion of this article. Yolanda Prieto, a former student and colleague of the departed willingly contributed the concluding statements to this article.

This paper (part of a larger study)¹ discusses certain characteristics of black Cubans in the United States, (based upon 1970 Census data) and also some descriptive and social-psychological characteristics of the Dade County black Cuban sample which we studied and from which are drawn certain implications of particular pertinence to black Cuban females.

EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

A special computer-run from the 1970 Census provides comparative data on the Cuban population of the United States.² Table 1 summarizes the information concerning the general employment characteristics of the population 16 years and older.

TABLE 1
GENERAL EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS

Category	Total Cubans in U.S.	White Cubans in U.S.	Black Cubans in U.S.
Total population (16 yrs. and older)	391,927	377,764	11,003
Civilian labor force	256,409	247,175	7,294
Employed persons (16 yrs. and older)	243,556	234,818	6,883
Unemployed persons	12,853	12,357	411

An examination of this table shows that there are only minor differences between white and black Cubans with respect to the three basic indicators being considered:

total number of Cubans in the civilian labor force; number of employed persons; and number of unemployed persons.

Some interesting differences become apparent when these indicators are further analyzed and disaggregated by sex, as shown in Table 2.

Black Cuban males have lower rates of incorporation into the civilian labor force than their white counterparts (78.2 percent compared to 82.7 percent for white Cuban males). They also exhibit a lower percentage of employed persons (73.8 percent for black Cuban males compared to 79.7 percent for white Cuban males) and higher unemployment rates (4.4 percent black Cuban males are unemployed compared to 3.0 percent for white Cuban males).

In contrast, the figures for females stand in just the opposite relationship. Black Cuban females have a higher participation rate in the labor force than white Cuban females (55.8 percent against 50.5 percent). They also have the highest percentage of employed persons and the lowest unemployment rates when compared to their white Cuban female counterparts. In general, the labor force participation of black Cuban females is higher than that of any other female group in the United States, with the exception of African-American females.

Black Cuban workers, whether male or female, tend to be concentrated in two occupational categories -- service workers (excluding private household) and operatives (except transport). Grouping these two categories shows 39 percent of all black Cuban males and 49.7 percent

TABLE 2

GENERAL EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS BY SEX*

Category	Total Cubans in U.S.		White Cubans in U.S.		Black Cubans in U.S.	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population (16 yrs. and older)	181,710	210,217	175,052	202,712	5,137	5,864
Civilian labor force	149,753	106,454	144,753	102,422	4,019	3,275
% of total	82.5	50.6	82.7	50.5	78.2	55.8
Employed persons (16 yrs. and older)	144,524	99,032	139,586	95,232	3,793	3,090
% of total	79.5	47.1	79.7	47.0	73.8	52.7
? ? % of civilian labor force	96.4 ?	93.0	96.4 ?	92.9	94.4	94.4
Unemployed persons	5,431	7,422	5,167	7,109	226	185
% of total	3.0	3.5	3.0	3.5	4.4	3.1
% of civilian labor force	3.6	7.0	3.6	7.0	5.6	5.6

*Percentages used to estimate the numbers of males and females are from Wilber, G.; Jaco, D.; Haga, R.; and del Fierro, A. Jr. "Spanish Americans and Indians in the Labor Market." *Minorities in the Labor Market*, Vol. 1, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, 1975.

of all black Cuban females accounted for as illustrated in Table 3.

Black Cuban females are highly represented in the private household service category (12.5 percent when compared with any of the other categories of Cuban workers. This indicates the continuity of a pattern existing in pre-revolutionary Cuba where domestic work was generally performed by black women.

Compared to the other Cuban groups, a greater percentage of the black female Cuban population is engaged in professional, technical, and kindred jobs. This probably reflects the great weight given to education among black Cuban females and particularly to the use of education as a tool for social ascent among black Cuban females in pre-revolutionary Cuban society.

Some other patterns in the employment distribution reflect the rigidity of Cuban mores with respect to appropriate employment for females as well as the structure of opportunities for female employment in the United States; both factors seem to reinforce each other. Women (black or white) are suited for clerical jobs, operatives (except transport), and for service occupations, but not to become craftswomen, laborers, or transport equipment operatives. (Although between black and white women there is some difference in the order.)

If we look at the education data by sex in Table 4, it is clear that, on the average, black Cubans in the United States have fewer years of formal education than

TABLE 3

TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT BY SEX AND RACE, 16 YEARS AND OLDER

Category	Total Employed Cubans in U.S.		White Cubans in U.S.		Black Cubans in U.S.	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	144,524	99,032	139,586	95,232	3,793	3,090
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	13.0%	9.2%	13.1%	9.1%	10.5%	13.4%
Managers and administrators (except farm)	7.1	1.5	7.3	1.5	2.6	1.5
Sales workers	6.2	4.8	6.3	4.9	4.1	2.3
Clerical and kindred workers	10.5	26.0	10.5	26.3	10.7	17.2
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	18.6	3.0	18.6	3.1	18.1	1.8
Operatives, except transport	19.9	41.1	19.9	41.7	17.1	23.9
Transport equipment operatives	4.2	0.2	4.2	0.2	5.9	0.0
Laborers, except farm	6.1	1.1	6.1	1.1	8.6	1.3
Farmers and farm managers	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3
Farm laborers and farm foremen	0.3	---	0.3	---	0.1	---
Service workers, except private household	13.7	11.7	13.5	11.2	21.9	25.8
Private household workers	0.1	1.2	0.1	0.9	0.4	12.5

TABLE 4
U.S. CENSUS DATA ON EDUCATION BACKGROUND
OF CUBANS ACCORDING TO SEX

Level of Education	Total Cubans in U.S.		White Cubans in U.S.		Black Cubans in U.S.	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	150,378	175,282	144,917	168,910	4,266	5,009
Elementary (0-8)	40.9%	48.1%	40.7%	48.0%	46.2%	48.9%
Some High School (9-11)	11.0	10.3	10.8	10.1	16.0	17.5
Finished High School (12)	21.7	24.8	21.7	24.9	20.6	20.6
Some College	11.4	7.9	11.4	8.0	11.0	6.3
College Graduate	15.0	9.0	15.3	9.0	6.1	6.8

*The age range used in the Census is 25 years and over; in the Miami sample it is 21 to 61 years old.
There are 13 persons in the 21 to 30 age category in the sample (out of 126).

their white counterparts. For example, 48.4 percent of the white Cuban male population in the United States had completed high school and/or acquired some higher education. The comparable figure for black Cuban males is 37.7 percent. Nearly 42 percent of all white Cuban females (41.7 percent) graduated from high school and/or acquired some higher education. The comparable figures for black Cuban females is 33.7 percent. Also, among black Cubans the percentage of female-headed families (at 21.8 percent) is shown to be twice the corresponding rate for white Cubans. Black Cubans also surpass white Cubans in other related indicators such as percentage of female-headed families with related children under 18; percentage of female-headed families with related children under 6; and percentage of female heads of households in the labor force. Black Cubans also seem to have a significantly higher percentage of male family heads over 65 years of age. While this very intriguing indicator cannot be readily interpreted there are some possible explanations which spring to mind. For example, this phenomena (1) might reflect a general "older" character of the black Cuban population; (2) could be related partially to the existence of extended family patterns with "grandfather"-headed families; or (3) might mean that more restrictions were imposed upon younger males seeking to emigrate from Cuba.

Table 5 provides a selection of interesting socio-economic characteristics by which Cuban families can be compared. The primary differences between white and black

TABLE 5

SELECTED COMPARATIVE SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FAMILIES

Characteristics	Total Cuban Families in U.S.	White Cuban Families in U.S.	Black Cuban Families in U.S.
<u>Families</u> (total)	143,237	138,005	3,956
Mean size of family	3.69	3.70	3.40
% of families with related children under 18 years	66.1	66.0	65.3
Mean number of related children under 18	1.96	1.95	2.25
% of female headed families	11.3	10.9	21.8
% F.H.F. with related children under 18	60.6	59.8	68.1
% F.H.F. with related children under 6	18.3	17.8	22.2
% of female heads in labor force	55.3	55.2	60.4
% of families receiving social security income	10.4	10.5	10.5
% receiving public assistance or public welfare	15.6	15.5	15.3
% family heads 65 and over	6.5	6.5	7.1
% male family heads under 65	82.9	83.3	71.8

Percent applies only to families with income *below poverty level*.

Cuban *families* seem related to the gender of the head of the household.

INCOME

The differences discussed in occupational distribution and educational level are translated into marked income differentials. Table 6 summarizes this information about white and black families.

In terms of yearly *family* income, 26.4 percent black Cuban families (as compared to 21.0 percent white Cuban families) have incomes below \$4,999; while 73.3 percent black Cubans (as compared to 79.0 percent white Cuban families) have incomes of \$5,000 or higher. The median family income for black Cubans is \$7,971, nearly 10 percent below the median family income for white Cubans which is \$8,720.

TABLE 6
YEARLY FAMILY INCOME - U.S. 1970 CENSUS

<u>N</u>	Total Cubans in U.S.	White Cubans in U.S.	Black Cubans in U.S.
Total Families	143,237	138,005	3,956
<u>1</u>			
Less than 1,000	3.8	3.7	4.4
1,000 to 4,999	17.5	17.3	22.0
5,000 to 9,999	38.5	38.5	36.2
10,000 or more	40.3	40.5	37.3
Median Income	\$8,690	\$8,720	\$7,971

In spite of the higher labor force participation rates of black Cuban females which should help to improve

overall yearly family income, the differences between blacks and whites remain. This may be because (1) there is a larger percentage of female-headed households among black Cubans, with those workers earning less than their white counterparts and (2) black Cubans, female and male, may be "locked into" the lowest paid job categories.

SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

In our study of a sample of Dade County's black Cubans, we were interested in individual attitudes towards multiple ascribed dimensions of status, and the resulting patterns of ranked identities. In other words, we wish to show that whenever individuals share more than one ascribed characteristic (although they cannot or may not be able to do away with them because of anthropological or cultural visibility) they can selectively manipulate their own identity orientation so as to make one of these dimensions the object of their preferred attachment. When faced with two possible choices, and assuming that both choices can constitute handicaps to quick assimilation and ease of interaction, individuals will selectively emphasize that ascribed dimension whose outlet leads to the most social gratification, and will avoid any others which would constitute a serious impediment to general participation. In other words, individuals will establish salient identity orientation based on their perception of their social environment, so as to minimize friction and maximize their relative advantages for mobility and status achievement.

The Miami Environment

Living in the Miami area provides Spanish-speaking individuals with a remarkably varied social environment. The lives of these immigrants, especially Cubans, need not be one in which they must struggle to preserve their ethnic identity. Aside from the rapidly changing Chinese enclaves in San Francisco and Los Angeles, there is no other current example of an urban community in the United States as ethnically complete as this one. The Cuban population of Dade County, Florida, (where Miami is located) now numbers 220,000 individuals, or roughly 24 percent of the county's population. They are without a doubt the numerically dominant minority (African-Americans account for 17 percent) although their access to the non-Cuban institutional life of the community is severely restricted by language barriers and the legal consequences of alien status. Most of these individuals are classified as refugees, which means that they are paroled for an indefinite stay, but cannot exert legislative pressure through participation in the political structure. The Cuban community has an estimated annual income of \$588 million, mostly generated out of Cuban owned and operated businesses (mainly service type) and small manufacturing installations (mainly dress apparel). There are 37 Spanish-language publications in Miami alone, ranging from weekly and daily newspapers to monthly magazines; there are also 7 radio stations and 2 television channels, all with 24-hour programming in Spanish.

The Cuban sector, "Little Havana" maintains the full range of commercial and business services necessary to conduct official contacts with the non-Cuban world. All forms of entertainment, from theaters, movies, cultural events, and outdoor recreation to night clubs and prostitution are readily available. There is not a single line of service which is not represented in the ethnic community. In addition, the Cuban system of pre-paid medical care has been imported to Florida, and represents an outstanding example of a pilot development in HMO's (health maintenance organizations). Approximately 20 privately owned clinics enroll thousands of Cubans in comprehensive treatment plans. Finally, there are between 200 and 400 voluntary associations of exclusively Cuban membership functioning at any one time in Miami, with only perhaps 20 percent of them being exclusively political in terms of goals and membership. Cuban schools enroll approximately 4,000 children in the area.

In short, Cubans can live in the Miami area with as much or as little contact with the American community as they wish. Such an ethnic community provides constant support for cultural values and practices, even for individuals undergoing volitional transition into the host society. Thus, our subject population can freely express their selective orientation, if any, since there are many outlets for behavioral manifestations both along racial and ethnic lines. These individuals are ideally placed in the kind of special environment which provides

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the necessary alternatives to make the testing of our main hypothesis valid.

SAMPLE DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

Having established the viability of the ethnic dimension, we must now consider the definitional problem which arises whenever race is introduced as an intervening or as a background variable. From a purely cultural standpoint, the range of skin-color and the overall racial mix is much greater in any Caribbean country than in the United States. There are then a sizeable number of individuals whose own racial identification is closely tied in to their racial visibility and their class position. In other words, not all individuals considered racially black may in fact have developed a racial identity, and in many cases they may simply reject it when faced with the opportunity of "passing". This latter form of evading the blocking behavior of majority group members has considerable appeal for foreign-born blacks in this society, since the common American stereotypes of the Latin allow for inclusion of what in the Caribbean would be generally considered racial types. Clearly, it became necessary to make sure that we were in fact dealing with individuals who, as a matter of self-identification, shared racial and ethnic characteristics. For that reason, all potential respondents in the study were asked as a filter question whether they considered themselves black

or not. Of 265 households approached only 6 individuals did not consider themselves black and were therefore excluded. Only those individuals who made self-assertions of both their ethnic origin and their racial membership were interviewed.

Another important restriction was introduced in the screening of respondents. We selected only individuals who had an acquaintance with occupational, organizational, social and other areas of interaction, as a consequence of having been gainfully employed in Cuba as well as in the United States. This device insured strict comparability of occupational change, and it also guaranteed that all individuals had been sufficiently exposed to both their society of origin and their community of destination. (For all intents and purposes this also means that all respondents were twenty-one years or older.)

To summarize, only those black Cubans who met the following requirements were interviewed:

- a) adults
- b) who declared themselves to be both Cubans and blacks
- c) having arrived in the United States no earlier than January, 1959
- d) and, had been working for at least one calendar year both in Cuba (prior to their departure) and in the United States.

The most important problem faced in the development of the research design was to define the universe of black Cubans in the Miami area. We discovered that,

contrary to expectations, there was not a single comprehensive source of data on Cubans which included a statement of racial group membership. All possible sources, including the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Cuban Refugee Program (an agency of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare), the school system, and religious organizations were thoroughly searched. Because no single comprehensive source of identification could be secured, it appeared that no sampling frame was available. Faced with those facts, we decided to enumerate black Cuban households in the Miami area prior to deciding on the future course of the study, hoping that the total number of such individuals would be small enough so that good coverage could be achieved.

We began by contacting members of the only known organization of Cuban blacks that has operated in the area in the last few years. Through them we obtained a membership list from which we were able to locate 87 households of potential respondents. In addition, we conducted a personal survey of the 44 largest Cuban organizations in the area, and requested names of black Cubans. We also enlisted the cooperation of approximately 150 business establishments requesting names (and addresses where available) of customers judged to be both black and Cuban. Once contact was established with a black Cuban, he or she was asked to submit a list of other black Cubans in the area.

This process was continued from September 1970 to October 1971, and a total of 265 households were located. From these 265 households, we selected 100—at random and completed 128 interviews of individuals fitting our criteria.

SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS: SOME FINDINGS

A study of selected socio-psychological variables of our sample shows that Miami's black Cubans tend to identify primarily as Cubans. Their interactions take place primarily within the Cuban community and they have few contacts with African-Americans.

Our sample's strong Cuban identity is clearly demonstrated by responses to ethnic and identity scales.³ The respondents tend to agree more with statements which stress Cuban self-sufficiency and economic and cultural survival than with items which stress black self-sufficiency and economic and cultural survival.

The effect of twelve independent variables upon the assimilation process was studied. The variables range from traditional, structural ones (such as age, time in the United States, religion, education, income level, rural and urban origin, and occupation) to social psychological factors (ethnic identity, racial identity, the individual's reported experience with discrimination, and racial militancy).

Assimilation was indexed by three dependent variables (a) the level of self-perceived satisfaction,

(b) the rejection of the possibility of returning to Cuba and (c) the frequency of interaction with various possible race ethnic groupings.

As Table 7 indicates, some intercorrelations among the independent variables are interesting. For example, the longer the time spent in the United States, the greater the tendency toward racial identification on the part of the respondents. Racial militancy also increases with time spent in the United States and it bears a negative relationship to age and income (i.e., the higher the income, the lower the militancy; the lower the age the higher the militancy). The most surprising information, however, concerns the lower correlations of socioeconomic status with any of the other variables.

Analysis of the racial and ethnic identity scores of the sample shows that black Cubans tend to identify primarily as Cubans and only secondarily as blacks. It seems that as suggested before, the saliency pattern in this context simply reflects the individual's perception of his long range advancement opportunities and leads him to opt for the identity which minimizes environmental blocking.

Characteristics of the Sample

Education. Table 8 summarizes information concerning educations of female and male black Cuban respondents and compares them to all black Cubans in the United States. Our Miami sample shows lower representation

TABLE 7
INTERCORRELATION TABLE (r)

VARIABLES		CORRELATIONS							
		X ₁	X ₂	X ₃	X ₄	X ₅	X ₆	X ₇	X ₈
X ₁	Ethnic Identity	—							
X ₂	Racial Identity	.21	—						
X ₃	Discrimination Index	-.02	.06	—					
X ₄	Militancy Index	.01	-.02	.12	—				
X ₅	S.E.S.	-.03	.00	.06	.02	—			
X ₆	Income	.04	-.06	.08	-.13	-.03	—		
X ₇	Education	-.10	-.10	.16	.19	-.03	.21	—	
X ₈	Age	.11	-.05	-.11	-.04	.02	-.19	-.07	—
X ₉	Time in U.S.	-.01	.20	.13	.13	-.09	.01	.00	.15

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND BETWEEN MIAMI
SAMPLE AND ALL CUBANS IN THE U.S.

	Black Cubans (U.S.)				Black Cubans (Miami)			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total (25 yrs. and over)	4,266		5,009					
Total (21 yrs. and over)						128		
Finished elementary (0-8)						85		43
	1971	46.2	2447	48.9	34	40.0	31	72.1
Some high school (9-11)	684	16.0	876	17.5	19	22.4	02	4.7
Finished high school (12)	880	20.6	1031	20.6	21	24.7	06	14.0
Some college	471	11.0	314	6.2	06	7.1	02	4.7
College graduate	260	6.1	341	6.8	05	5.9	02	4.7

*Census statistics of all U.S. data for males and females 25 years and older. In the sample the range is from 21 to 61 and older, though there are not many respondents in the 21 to 30 category (N=13) for both male and female.

of persons -- both male and female -- with college education and among the females, a sizable concentration of individuals with just elementary education (72.1 percent in our sample versus 48.9 percent for U.S. blacks as a whole).

This would suggest a tendency for the lesser educated black Cubans (particularly females) to stay in the Miami area, while those with better educational backgrounds might tend to emigrate from the South.

A view at the educational breakdown of the sample by sex indicates that 66.4 percent of the males, and 76.8

percent of the females have less than a high school education. The important consequence of this overall background is that these individuals are significantly disadvantaged with respect to their levels of educational attainment, the fact that their training took place in a different cultural setting (with much less emphasis on technology and vocational pursuits) and the inevitable presence of language barriers.

TABLE 9
AGE BY SEX OF BLACK CUBANS IN MIAMI

Age Categories	Respondents' Sex				
	Male		Female		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	
21 to 30 years of age	09	10.7	04	9.5	13
31 to 40 years of age	26	31.0	19	45.2	45
41 to 50 years of age	28	33.3	10	23.8	38
51 to 60 years of age	11	13.1	07	16.7	18
61 years of age and older	10	11.9	02	4.8	12
Total	84	100.0	42	100.0	126

Age. Cubans in the United States are relatively "old"; when compared to the base population in Cuba; as well as when compared to other Hispanic populations in the United States. Table 9 provides data about the sample according to age and sex.

In the Miami black Cuban sample, males tend to be older than females: the modal category for males is 41 to 50 years old (33.3 percent) whereas it is 31 to 40 years old for females (45.2 percent). Overall, 35.7 percent of

all subjects are between the ages of 31 and 40, with another 30.2 percent between the ages of 41 and 50. This replicates what we already know of the Cuban immigrant in general; namely that the age distribution is skewed upward, largely because emigration restrictions prevented males of military age (14 to 27 years) from leaving Cuba. As can be seen from Table 9 almost 12 percent of the males and 5 percent of the females are age 61 and older. Given the higher mean age of the group as a whole, it again becomes apparent that there will be selectively different impediments for occupational advancement. In terms of age, these people are not as competitive as the community in general, or other minorities in particular. However, restrictions in our inclusion criteria (particularly the rule that the person must have worked in Cuba prior to departure) make the age skewness more pronounced in our black Cuban sample than in the overall United States Cuban population as a whole.

Income Levels. Table 10 summarizes the information concerning mean and median incomes for United States Cubans (black and white) and for our Miami sample.

Miami's black Cubans appear as disadvantaged when compared to any of the other categories, be they Dade County Cubans in general or United States black Cubans in general. However, income differentials between black Cubans in the Miami sample and the total Dade County Cuban population are significantly greater than differentials between white and black Cubans at the national

level. The mean family income of black Cubans in Dade County is nearly 22 percent below the \$8,834 income level of white Cuban families living in Dade County while falling only 10 percent below the median income at national level.

TABLE 10
MEAN AND MEDIAN INCOMES OF FAMILIES
(U.S. CENSUS 1970 AND MIAMI SAMPLE)

	Mean	Median
U.S. Cubans (total)	\$ 9,728	\$ 8,690
U.S. Cubans (white)	9,763	8,720
U.S. Cubans (black)	9,018	7,971
Dade County Cubans (total)	8,834	7,954
Black Cubans Miami Sample	6,926	7,000

The income results agree with the information we have about educational attainment of Miami's black Cubans. They have little specialized and applicable educational skills on which to rely for occupational advancement. Nonetheless, the monetary rewards, even for low status occupations in the United States far outweigh those which were possible in Cuba.

CONCLUSION

The previous pages have attempted to give an overview of the situation of Black Cubans in the United States in general, and to discuss certain characteristics of a Miami black Cuban sample with special emphasis on black Cuban females.

Despite minor differences between black and white Cubans in terms of employment characteristics, significant variations become apparent when census data are disaggregated by sex.

Black Cuban males have lower rates of incorporation into the labor force and higher unemployment rates than white Cuban males. On the other hand, black Cuban females have much higher labor force participation rates than their white counterparts and than any other female group in the United States with the exception of African-American females.

Both male and female Cuban blacks are concentrated in the service and operative categories. It is interesting that black Cuban females represent the only Cuban group with a significant incorporation into private domestic services. This reveals the continuation of a pattern existing in pre-revolutionary Cuba where black women were concentrated in domestic occupations. Also, black Cuban women who have migrated to the United States, where the role of black women as domestic workers has also been significant, may be more easily hired as domestics than their white counterparts.

Interestingly, there is also a greater percentage of black-Cuban females engaged in professional, technical, and kindred jobs when compared to the other Cuban groups. As mentioned before, this may suggest the emphasis placed on education as a means of social mobility among blacks in Cuba. At the same time it may reflect the selective

nature of the black Cuban emigration -- particularly the black female emigration of the sixties. That is to say, those who left may have belonged to the better educated and higher socioeconomic sectors of the black population in Cuba.

The role of the black Cuban female as a very central family member stands out significantly from the data in several ways. In addition to having higher rates of participation in the labor force and lower rates of unemployment, the percentage of female-headed families among black Cubans is double the figure for white Cubans. The higher incorporation to economic activity and the greater percentage of female-headed families among black Cubans may be interrelated. Obviously, the absence of a male in the household means that many more women have to work outside the home. At the same time, the fact that the male black Cuban population is older (with a significant number of family heads over 65) suggests that women's economic contribution to the family in this context becomes even more crucial.

The higher participation of black Cuban families in the labor force does not seem to contribute to higher income levels among blacks. There is a marked income differential between white and black Cubans in the United States. On the one hand, black Cubans may be more concentrated in the lowest paid jobs. But more importantly, there is a much higher percentage of female-headed families among black Cubans with those workers probably

earning less than their white counterparts. Thus, it seems that black Cuban women are the most economically active but at the same time the most disadvantaged and least economically rewarded of all the Cuban groups in the United States.

The situation of black Cuban females in the United States is a topic worthy of more study. Their high incorporation into the paid labor force and the greater number of women being responsible for their families, can be compared to the traditional position of black women in pre-revolutionary Cuban society (where a significant proportion of black women -- as opposed to white women -- always worked outside the home mainly to help support their families. It also resembles the situation of African-American women. Concerning this last observation, it is obvious that the complex historical interrelationships between social class and race took different forms in the Cuban and United States societies. These differences account for variations in the structural and socio-psychological manifestations of racism and occupational segregation by race, class and sex. On the other hand, slavery existed in both societies and involved black women working alongside black men in the fields of the plantation. In both societies it affected the large number of black women who work as well as the types of jobs they did -- after abolition usually domestic service or other work in the lowest paying categories.

On the average, black Cubans in the United States have fewer years of formal education than white Cubans, both males and females. In the case of black females, it is interesting that, even though a lower percentage have completed high school and/or acquired some higher education than white Cuban females, the former have a significantly higher participation rate in professional jobs which in turn require more education. This probably reflects the higher utilization of skills among black Cuban females. Specifically, many white Cuban women in the higher educational levels may be either working in nonprofessional jobs (especially those with language difficulties) or not working at all. It is important to point out that in Cuba, especially among the middle and upper classes, cultural proscription made it a common occurrence for a woman to receive an education (even a university education) and then remain at home -- after marriage, as was culturally proscribed.

This paper also showed that in our study of a sample of Dade County's black Cubans, whenever individuals share more than one ascribed characteristic, they can selectively manipulate their own identity orientation. Black Cubans, faced with the two possible choices of being considered blacks or Cubans, selectively choose to identify as Cubans in order to maximize their relative advantages for mobility and status achievement. An environment as ethnically complete as Miami's seem to both facilitate and encourage black Cubans' first identification as Cubans.

Our Miami sample exhibits an even lower level of education than that for United States Cuban blacks as a whole. This is true for both males and females and it suggests that those black Cubans with education and/or knowledge of English may tend to migrate to the North. Women in the sample are the most disadvantaged Cuban group regarding education (76.8 percent have less than a high school education) from both the sample and the Cuban population in the United States at large.

The Miami sample has a higher mean age than the United States Cuban population as a whole. The older character of the Miami sample is further skewed by the restriction of this study to persons who had previous work experience in Cuba.

The lower educational level and the higher mean age (particularly of the males) seem to be related to the significantly lower incomes of black Cubans in the Miami sample. It is possible that the age differences between males and females in the sample are reflected in the average income. An older male population may be economically less active, at the same time that younger females, despite their high incorporation into the labor force receive lower salaries.

POSTSCRIPT

This article was written before the arrival of the most recent immigrant groups from Cuba (particularly those individuals who sought asylum at the Peruvian

Embassy in April 1980, and those who evacuated from the Mariel port in Cuba in the same year) and therefore it seems necessary to address some points concerning this last exodus which are relevant to our previous discussion.

Who are the Cubans who left? In what ways do they differ from the Cuban migration of the sixties? How does this last group of approximately 150,000 Cubans change the general picture that we had about the Cuban community in the United States?

There are no serious academic studies (that this author knows about) or even complete and reliable statistical information about the new arrivals. This is understandable given the recency of this last influx of Cubans. We can only rely on figures given by the press, or preliminary governmental reports on the size and composition of the group. However, some generalizations can be made.

This new wave of Cuban immigrants differs from the previous ones in that, generally speaking, it is not made up of people from the former upper or middle classes (although some of these newcomers in the past probably did belong to those classes). Some of the emigres are relatives of people already residing in the United States. There is also a segment of immigrants who until recently were integrated into the Revolution but were discouraged by the recent austerity measures undertaken to combat economic difficulties. Thus, when presented with an opportunity to leave they chose to do so. A high

percentage of the newcomers, however, seem to represent a sector of people marginal to Cuba's present socio-political process, many of whom had serious criminal records.⁴

This last influx of Cuban migrants is also younger and heavily male. One out of four is said to be under the age of 21, while 6 percent are over 65. At least in the beginning of the flow, before families started to come, males outnumbered females at a ratio of 2 to 1. Another interesting characteristic of this last wave is its racial composition. It is said that about 12 percent of the Cubans coming describe themselves as black.⁵ (This is a much higher proportion than the 2.8 percent black Cubans in the United States reported in the special run of the United States 1970 Census).

The increasing migration of blacks from Cuba now is central to the concern of the previous article and the study that informed it. In the beginning pages we asserted that one of the reasons for the underrepresentation of blacks in the Cuban migration of the sixties was that the Revolution had brought significant improvements to the lowest strata of the Cuban population, where blacks were overrepresented. Also, the expectation of encountering racial oppression in the United States contributed to the minimal emigration of blacks in Cuba.

What has changed in Cuba in the eighties that has generated another wave of migration containing

significant numbers of people for whom the Revolution was fought?

The answer to this question would require careful examination of the process of sociopolitical transformation that Cuba has been engaged in for 21 years. This task is certainly beyond the scope of this article. However, some observations should be made here.

It is impossible to talk about the Cuban migration to the United States in the sixties or in the eighties without discussing this flow of people in the context of United States-Cuba relations. Cuba is attempting to achieve economic development within a socialist model, but the task of building socialism 90 miles away from the United States is difficult. The United States had economic and political control of Cuba before 1959 and after the Revolution it led other countries in the hemisphere into imposing a still existing economic blockade to the island. The consequences of this blockade coupled with internal problems of reorganization and restructuring (especially of the economy) have meant hardship for the Cuban population. Although the standard of living in Cuba is much higher than in other Latin American countries (particularly as it relates to education and health care) living conditions in Cuba are difficult. It is an underdeveloped country and the process of economic development has been slow.

These limitations in the material development of the society manifested by the shortage of consumer goods,

among other things, and Cuba's proximity to the United States, which is still thought of as the land of "endless opportunities," have caused some people to want to emigrate. Thus, most people leaving Cuba now seem to be doing so for economic rather than for political reasons. In this context, the current higher representation of what heretofore had been nontraditional Cuban emigrants (e.g., working class, younger persons, blacks) can be explained.

The presence in the migration of a high proportion of individuals considered "antisocial" by both the authorities and people who stayed in Cuba (meaning primarily individuals with delinquent or criminal records) poses important and complex questions. The first one relates to the very existence of antisocial, criminal, or merely marginal sectors as a social problem in Cuba. It is usually argued that in a socialist society where, by definition, jobs and social services are available to all citizens without exclusion of any particular social group, it is impossible to talk about marginality -- other than self-imposed exclusion. However, it is true that in Cuba there seems to be a difficulty in incorporating former marginal sectors into revolutionary society given the persistence of mechanisms which transmit old values in certain social contexts.

For example, the transformation of former slum areas, especially in Havana and other urban centers, is still an ongoing battle. It was in those areas that

crime and delinquency were most prevalent in Cuba before the Revolution. And, the limitations in the material development of the society have delayed the total eradication of these disadvantaged neighborhoods. These material difficulties also retard the formation or reinforcement of new attitudes about revolutionary change. And, the remnants of slum subcultures and in many cases the family serve as transmitting mechanisms of old habits and conceptions of life. It is not surprising then that a high proportion of those individuals considered marginal went in search for "political asylum" to the Peruvian Embassy in April, 1980 -- although it is evident that in most cases these people were not targets of any kind of political persecution.

It will not be possible to analyze new reliable data on Cubans in the United States which includes this new group of immigrants for a while. The information for the 1980 Census was taken before the Peru-Mariel exodus. Meanwhile we will have to rely on studies based on samples, or special population reports. It is certainly a future task to see how the new Cubans in the United States -- and especially new black Cubans in the United States -- fare amidst the "older" Cuban community and in the United States in general; especially if we consider that twenty years of socialization for equality and the right to basic human needs such as health care and education, may clash with existing discriminatory practices based on race, class, sex, and ethnicity in the United States.

NOTES

¹The study referred to here originated with Rafael J. Prohias' PhD. dissertation project, which would have been presented to the Sociology Department, Indiana University. Prohias's death prevented the completion of his dissertation. Joaquin Carrasco, a student and research assistant of Prohias performed the statistical analyses and completed the first manuscript; Rafael J. Prohias and Joaquin Carrasco, *Turning the Other Cheek: The Manipulation of Ascribed Dimensions of Status*. This study, an unpublished manuscript, was progressively placed in a wider context and the second manuscript, as it now stands, was the work of Lourdes Casal, who won a Ford Foundation award on the Movement of Caribbean Peoples in 1977 to undertake the project: Lourdes Casal, R. Prohias, J. Carrasco, and Y. Prieto, *Black Cubans in the U.S.*, presented to the Ford Foundation in January 1979.

²A special computer run of the 1970 U.S. Census was carried out for the Cuban Refugee Program. The data on this article are taken from that special run. The data for the U.S. contain Cubans residing in the U.S. prior to the Revolution, and there were significant numbers of blacks then. However since the bulk of the Cuban migration to the United States has occurred after 1959 it seems appropriate to use those figures as reflecting the

general migratory trend between the races in post-revolutionary Cuba.

³The Ethnic and Racial Identity Scales used in this project were constructed by Prohias and Carrasco from items already used in the Gary Area Project, 1969, Institute for Social Research, Indiana University. They were mainly based on concrete referents to everyday interaction situations rather than to attitudinal dispositions. Discussions of these scales and their final versions are included in the manuscripts referred to above.

⁴See Lourdes Casal, "Cuba, abril-mayo 1980: la historia y la histeria," *Aristo* 6:23 (Verano, 1980).

⁵"Healthy Cross Section of Emigrés," *New York Times*, May 16, 1980. The Statistics from the *New York Times* used here are based on the first 50,000 who had landed so far. As the Mariel rout continued, the representation of older individuals as well as of females in the exodus may be greater.

OBITUARY TO A FEMALE IMMIGRANT AND SCHOLAR:
LOURDES CASAL (1938-1981)

Roy S. Bryce-Laporte

Just at the time we thought that the editing phase of this collection was about to be completed we began to receive in bits the sad news of Lourdes Casal's illness not permitting her to return to the shores of the United States, the steady decline in her health, and finally her untimely death. None of these events was a surprise to us in reality; nevertheless, they were all shocking and difficult to reconcile with our hopes against great odds and the memory of her we wished to retain. For while Lourdes never denied nor sought to disguise the growing seriousness of her health conditions she never showed any inclination to concede defeat. For those of us who came to know her or just about her, Lourdes was a fighter, *una luchadora*. She was committed to struggle not only for her life but for the causes and convictions she developed; she was a worker, *una trabajadora*.

Professor Casal was one of the persons we especially invited to attend the pioneering seminar on The Experience of Nonwhite, Female Immigrants to the United States, which the Research Institute (RIIES) sponsored in Washington, D.C., in 1978. It is from this seminar that the main corpus of papers in this collection has been derived. Lourdes was not a formal panelist per se but

in the course of the general discussion she identified herself very clearly with the subject matter on at least two levels -- as a scholar specializing in the study by sex and race of Cuban immigrants to the United States and as a black, female immigrant herself. She urged us, then, not only to publish the proceedings of the seminar but to provide as part of the parcel a list of studies, data sources and the scholars who have been pursuing research on the topic or related matters. Hence in addition to the very valuable paper which she contributed, she deserves some credit for conceptualizing the scope of this collection. Her chapter here included counts among the projects that Lourdes was committed to get completed in the face of her increasing disability and impending need to remain in her country of birth. For this cooperation and her insight and inspiration, we are very grateful. But we also feel deep regrets that she is not here with us to experience the joy of seeing this publication become a reality.

Lourdes Casal has left us, the larger community of engaged Caribbean-immigrant scholars, a challenge of conscience and conscientiousness, a legacy of acts and activism. Born in Havana, Cuba, in 1938, Professor Casal was educated at the University of Havana and the Catholic University of Villa Nueva in her native land. She came to the United States in the first years of the Castro regime -- still in the early phase of a movement often equated with the exodus of white, middle and upper class

Cubans, though less known for the number of black or mulatto middle class intellectuals, artists and professional athletes who also fled the island. While here Lourdes studied and obtained her doctorate in social psychology at the New School of Social Research, she taught at Brooklyn College, CUNY and later at Rutgers - The State University's Newark campus. In 1979 she was a fellow of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (Smithsonian Institution) Washington, D.C.

Seemingly quite affected as a black, Hispanic woman by the social movements of the sixties and by a later trip that she took to Africa, Lourdes began to reevaluate her ideas about the situation of revolutionary Cuba, particularly as it affected blacks. Returning to her homeland in 1973, she was not only one of the earliest of her peers to have done so but one of the few to have been permitted repeated entry. There she engaged in efforts to pursue comparative studies on the fate of Cuban blacks in the island and especially Miami in the United States. By her own admission she had been exhorting Cuban authorities to continue to improve the situation of blacks, treat them fairly and meaningfully and absorb them in important structures and progressive programs of the country. Here in the United States she dared to show her sympathies toward some kind of rapprochement between the two countries and to express the promises and advances she saw in the Cuban Revolution in general, and more particularly for women, blacks and working

classes. With this she gained the wrath of anti-Castro elements who allegedly announced her a candidate for assassination. But, as is obvious, for her courage to say aloud her thoughts as much as for the scholarship she tried to promote, Lourdes gained respect from new friends, admirers and students.

Ms. Casal's life and her stay in the United States were short, too short indeed. But, hers was a busy life and a productive stay, their untimely ends notwithstanding. Lourdes conceptualized the formation of the Brigada de Antonio Maceo and founded Circulo de Cultura Cubana -- both organizations involved in reinforcing links of culture, identity and commitment to Cuba among Cubans now residents in the United States. She was the driving force and a founding editor of *Areito*, a magazine on Cuban-Latin American affairs and culture; as earlier she was to play a key role in the founding of Instituto de Estudios Cubanos' a forum for the study of the Cuban reality and revolution by Cuban expatriate scholars.

Known to the larger American public for her social science, politics and journalism, Lourdes was also accomplished as a literary figure. In 1973 she published a book of short stories called *Los Fundadores, Alfonso y otros cuentos*. In 1981 she won the first posthumous prize of the Casa de las Americas for *Palabras juntan revolución*, a forthcoming book of poetry. Due to her illness, final change of residence and eventual death, Lourdes left behind important unpublished social scientific works on

Cuban blacks in varying stages of incompleteness. We expect that these works will be completed in keeping with her thoughts and published with appropriate recognition for her contribution by her collaborators. Similarly we hope to see studies pursued by her students in faithful memory of her standards and principles. And, we shall not be surprised by the criticisms and controversies which will emerge around all of these works.

Yet in the context of this collection we must remember Lourdes as an immigrant. It is not strange that her life was so filled with purpose, passion, dreams and dilemmas; her stay was marked by an acute awareness of changes, differences, similarities and continuities. Even as an empiricist her greater pursuit was in search of the universal humanistic bridge of transcendence beyond contrived boundaries or ideological barriers. This we can capture in my loose translation of her poetry:

And despite it all, New York is my home.
I am fiercely loyal to this acquired homeland.
Because of New York I am a foreigner
in whatever other place,
Fiercely proud of the perfumes which assault
us from any street of the West Side.

marihuana or the odor of beer
the stench of dog urine
and the savage vitality of Santana's music
descending upon us
from a loudspeaker balancing precariously
on the edge of the fire escape ...

But New York is not the city of my infancy,
it is not here that I experienced my first
assurances
it is not here the corner of my first fall
nor of the piercing whistles which marked the
nights.

Because of that I will always remain
 on the margin,
 a stranger between these rocks,
 even when under the friendly sun
 of a summer day.
 Then, now and forever I will always
 remain a foreigner
 even when I return to the city of my infancy.
 I will carry this marginality, immune to
 all my returnings,
 too habanera to be New Yorker
 too New Yorker to be
 -- ever to become again --
 anything else.

(Excerpts from "Para Ana Velfort"¹
 by Lourdes Casal)

Dr. Lourdes Casal was human and thus she died.
 As her life was no ordinary one, neither was her death
 to be. Her remains now rest in a place of highest honor
 in Cuba -- Panteon de los Emigrados Revolucionarios.
 Strictly translated Pantheon of the Revolutionary Emi-
 grants, it could mean as well in the case of Lourdes Place
 of Reconciliation for a Returned Immigrant. Some people
 will mourn her passing as one of a heroine and patriot of
 a kind; others will be relieved with the passing of their
 anathema. I ask, however, that we pause for a moment to
 really appreciate her spirit. It lives on. It is the
 spirit of faith which allows one to survive in the force
 of insurmountable and anticipated hardships; it is the
 spirit of vision which prompts one to strive and to
 create despite agonies of identity, nostalgia, rejection,

¹Lourdes Casal, "Para Ana Velfort," *Areito* 3:1 (Summer 1976): p. 52.

discrimination, loneliness, marginality, powerlessness or pain. It is a spirit of daring and determination, Lourdes' life, her activities and accomplishments, even where she chose to die tell us something not only about the toughness of spirit but the spiritualistic ideals which immigrants hold, their drive for self-fulfillment and yet to contribute, their yearning to belong yet be equal and free. Such complex ideals have yet to win approval in our world of today, still dominated as it is by sacrosanct oversimplifications and static, bounded systems.

AN AFTERWORD

Elsa M. Chaney

The editors have made available in this volume the results of a pioneering effort which had its inception in a RIIES-sponsored panel presentation on migrant women in the United States. It gives us, for the first time in one place, reports of several empirical studies of Caribbean women in migration. Most of the studies focus on women in the host society, principally in New York City, but many of them give us at least some background on women in their home countries -- in relation to family structure, male partners, kin networks and attitudes to paid employment -- necessary to interpret the data on the migratory experience.

The underlying thesis of these and other efforts underway to study women in migration is the important insight that the process of international migration -- from the first moment when a prospective migrant, male or female, begins to prepare to leave his or her homeland -- has a differential impact on women and men. This thesis has now been empirically verified in a number of studies, including those in this volume, studies which answer some questions and suggest many others.

Before looking back to some of the issues illumined by the studies reported on here, or forward to what other questions might be researched, it may be well to ask a further question related to the implicit assumption on which these studies are based: supposing that women and men do experience migration in dissimilar ways, what difference would it make?

None of the studies here (nor is it their object to do so) makes recommendations. But the policy implications are there, and this is what makes these studies so important. People are moving today in unprecedented numbers in the Caribbean region -- among the islands in the region itself, and from the region to the United States and Canada. A majority of these persons are women. So far as policy implications of these movements are concerned, we have not even begun to figure out what they are, much less to design programs to ameliorate some of the negative characteristics of international migration on women's lives (while acknowledging that the long-term solutions lie in structural changes in the sending societies and a more equitable international economic order so that economic migration no longer is an imperative for Caribbean and other Third World peoples).

Until now, we have tended to regard women in migration as "passive". Women were thought to migrate only when they accompanied or joined their menfolk, and they were supposed to have no role in the migration

decision. Now we know that women take a much more active role in the whole process. In the studies here, we see, first of all, the leading role women take in deciding whether to go. The studies also show us that many women migrate autonomously, typically to establish a beachhead for other family members because women often can find work more easily than men. Indeed, the women in Monica Gordon's sample were motivated to migrate for economic reasons far more frequently than the men. Hispanic and Black women migrants' participation in paid employment is proportionately greater than that of women in the general United States population.*

Migrant women work overwhelmingly in female-stereotyped jobs which extend their mothering roles to nurturant or "housewifely" tasks in the larger society. Often these jobs are low in prestige and low-paid. They do not offer job security or occupational mobility. The high and growing incidence of the female-based household is another finding in these studies which belies female passivity in migration. The researchers also show the tremendous range of coping skills which women develop not only to meet their economic responsibilities, but to reconstruct their support networks; confront the disadvantages of racial and ethnic distinctiveness; preserve

*Casala's assertion that Cuban women work in greater numbers than any others may be incorrect; data in Chaney and Cruz (1977) show that Colombian women's labor force participation rates are even greater in the New York City area than for other Hispanic ethnic groups for which we have information. The problem is that data on women has been collected, but often is never reported -- our own figures came from a costly special run of Census data for the Colombian-born in the New York SMEA.

cultural ties to their homelands for themselves and their children; deal with changing female/male roles; overcome the effects of strain, in terms of their own and their children's mental and physical health. All these facets of female migration underscore women's active role and point to problems to which policymakers and planners could direct their efforts.

Until recently, most women migrated internally, going only short distances. Now large numbers are crossing national boundaries. A number of research and policy questions are suggested by the fact that the destination is outside the home country, and the articles in this volume have touched upon some of them. No assertion is being made here that internal migration does not also pose problems for women. But international movements place these problems in starkest perspective, and add other factors which most likely will confront those who move outside the borders of their own countries. A research and policy agenda on women in international migration must deal with the following sets of issues:

- international migration is likely to mean *longer periods of absence* than internal migration for work (and often represents a permanent move). Even when distances are not great, borders present problems for free movement. For women, international migration means more definitive separation from important kin, friendship and other support networks. If papers are not in order, return visits are too risky, and the family and/or the woman alone may go back only at the end of an extended stay.
- international migration often involves *greater distances*; interim visits are costly, causing them to be infrequent or put off altogether

until the definitive return. Sometimes paying for the return journey and accumulating a stake causes postponement of the return again and again to a distant future.

- international migration means that remittances must often be transferred through banking institutions, unreliable postal services, or trusted to travellers -- all adding to *uncertainty of sending money* back home, which may have been the principal reason for migrating in the first place. International migration initially attracts through the promise of a *significant wage differential* which, however, may be eroded by expenses of the journey and the higher cost of living in the United States. Miscalculations may mean longer separations, with greater strains on family structure.
- international migration brings people into a different culture where they and their children are *ethnically and racially distinct*. Often it is the women in their dealings with school, health, commercial, religious and other institutions who bear the brunt of adjustment.
- international migration often involves mastering at least the *rudiments of a new language*; again, the woman -- with her wider range of contacts needed to restructure her household "survival network," as well as in her paid work -- may have even greater need to learn the new language more quickly than the male.
- international migration poses *difficulties in communication* with the home place which may not be so acute as in the case of internal movements. Besides leading to family estrangement, lack of communication may make it extremely hard to make family decisions, especially those involving legal issues.
- international migration may mean *separation of family members* for long years, not only from the absent father/and or mother, but from older siblings. A common pattern in Caribbean migration is to leave younger children behind with their grandparents or adoptive parents in the home place. Sometimes families are never reunited.
- international migration to the United States often means that women, paradoxically, *may find that their lives have improved*. They may have greater freedom, better opportunities for

education and training, jobs which pay more than they could ever earn at home, a chance to develop interests outside the family and work -- for example, experience with women's groups and organizations. They may enjoy a new, more equal relationship to male partners -- but a more collaborative style of relationship also may be resisted by their menfolk. The meager speculation done about women in international migration has been almost completely negative; there are now a few studies showing that sometimes such movements bring positive outcomes to women, even when it turns out that, on the whole, their communities and nations do not benefit.

- international migration can be understood -- and the problems generating the enforced movements of people can be addressed -- only in the light of the *situation in sending countries*. Much more attention needs to be paid to the economic, cultural, educational and social background of migrants to the United States, and particularly to patterns related to family life and to the roles and status of women in their home societies.
- international migration *strips people of the rights and privileges* they may enjoy as citizens. If they are clandestine migrants, they are often outside the protection of both their own and their immigration country's laws. Sometimes women are particularly disadvantaged in their human rights when they migrate.

This outline of issue areas related to women in international migration could be extended. The broad range of questions touched on above, as well as in the articles in this volume, point to a rich agenda for research and for policymakers. RIIES has taken us a giant step along the way with this publication, and we may hope that the studies reported on here will inspire others to continue the work.

PART II

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

WOMEN AND MIGRATION: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Delores M. Mortimer

During the past fifteen years many changes have occurred in the nature of immigration to the United States. The first change that is most readily apparent to students and those involved in the statistical monitoring of immigration is that a sizeable percentage of present-day immigrants to the United States have their origins in countries outside of the European continent. A second change is that females, rather than males, have become and continue to be numerically significant in this contemporary immigration.

Notwithstanding the changes in the nature of contemporary immigration to the United States, and despite the emergence of and continuing interest in female group studies, the participation of women has been incidental to many inquiries; migration is one such topical area. As one author has written:

The facts are that immigrants as a group made contributions of incalculable import to the development of the nation, and that the term "immigrant" relates to both men and women. Most discussions of the immigrant contribution are confined to the achievements of males. But women? The general assumption is that mature women immigrants functioned predominantly as wives and mothers, and their young daughters as domestics and factory workers of some kind until they, too, joined the ranks of wives and mothers.¹

There are other general assumptions that become apparent in relation to perceptions of what the term "immigrant" means. Generally, works concerned with the study of women other than those of European descent present these women as an undifferentiated category. Even in some of the more recent publications there still prevails a distorted perspective toward nonwhite women. Little, if any, regard is shown for area of origin, cultural heritage, or circumstances of arrival and presence in the United States. For no group is this more true than the American racial and ethnic hyphenates who are of African extraction. And, within the framework of women's studies and the politics of women's liberation in the United States, many references, comparisons, and incorrect analogies have been made about black females as compared to other American females. All of these patterns have some bearing upon any examination of the migration process.

Even the most cursory examination of a few publications that purport to deal with the combined subjects of women and migration reveals that they often are of limited use because of one or two significant drawbacks. One, the focus usually is upon "notable" women. This type of publication can be helpful as a biographical resource. Little light is shed, however, on how the women listed in such publications dealt with the problems inherent to the migration process. Two, European-origin females generally are the objects of attention. In such publications, women of African descent usually are covered in a token manner.

They are almost never depicted or discussed in contemporary contexts but are introduced via an historical overview of slavery in the United States. And, there is a fairly predictable (and requisite) recounting of the achievements of Phyllis Wheatley, Harriet Tubman, and Sojourner Truth. For example, in *America's Immigrant Women* by Cecyle S. Neidle, the coverage of women as immigrants is nongeneric despite the book's title. Save for the inclusion of Phyllis Wheatley ("a young woman who came to Boston as an 'unfree' immigrant")² blacks are not examined. While Neidle acknowledges that "there is some disagreement about who should be excluded from this designation" of immigrant, she goes on to champion the inclusion of those who, unlike the visitor, have had to deal with "the necessity of adjusting to a new mode of existence and accepting alterations in life-style."

Any thorough study of non-European female immigrants must include questions concerned with gender, race, and migration. An exploration of the literature sources show a limited production of works which tie together these three as coordinates, especially as they relate to the black segment of the subpopulation. More often what is encountered are works dealing with one or two but not all three coordinates, and other works which may involve other variables. Obviously this is less than satisfying to the student of the subject. But, until the literature begins to accumulate primary works and generate its own data, it is important for those interested in the subject

matter to be acquainted with works which may be relevant even if indirect and fragmented (as can be seen from the subject index).

The presence of these drawbacks and inadequacies were, in part, the stimuli for conducting the bibliographic search. In undertaking the search for relevant literature and information, the three key points of focus were gender, race, and migration.

METHODOLOGY

The primary-level objective of the search required examination of factors involved in female migration to, as well as within, the United States so as to garner information about:

1. how immigrant females interact with, effect, and are affected by the native-born Americans who share the same racial and/or ethnic heritage;
2. similarities and differences between migratory experiences of immigrant females and those of native-born internal migrants;
3. why there has been an upsurge in the number of females participating in the migratory process; and
4. what implications the presence of the specific immigrant group might have for the future ethnic, socioeconomic and political profile of American society.

Several specific lead questions helped to determine the literature that was searched for and the eventual form which the bibliography assumed. Some of the lead questions were the following:

- How much does the study of women as migrants augment studies about women in the United States in general?
- How do studies of women migrants add to the body of knowledge about the process of migration itself?
- How much is migration a common aspect of lives of black women in the United States?
How much is it an uncommon aspect?
- Why do women of African extraction migrate?
- What are the catalysts that have brought about the present migration?
- How, if at all, can this migration be compared to similar movements in other parts of the world?

While conducting the bibliographic search, two things became apparent. First, data specifically relating to the study of women are diffuse and, more often than not, subsumed under broad headings. While there are any number of studies on aspects of women and migration (such as education and brain drain or family planning and fertility) there is no major bibliographic source for the topic. Second, migration continues to be considered by some as a subfield of population studies -- a situation

which gives a particular focus to such research, with the primary preoccupation being population growth and control. However, by drawing upon the literature of the various academic fields of study, it is possible to compile a research bibliography having a multidisciplinary perspective.

In compiling the bibliography, indexes of publications and tables of contents were scrutinized for entries on "women", "female(s)", and "girls". Also, entries such as employment, sex, family, role(s), socialization, acculturation, and others of this type were turned to for sublistings. These then were combined with terms and phrases that characterized the subject content of the search. (This method of grouping the components according to concepts in the topic later helped in carrying out a computerized bibliographic search.)

To understand fully the interaction between the native-born and the foreign-born minority females of the same race requires, among other things, an examination of the nature of ethnicity in the United States. With reference to blacks Robert Austin makes the point that policy is made for blacks as a monolithic group without due recognition of differences. Those differences cause the various subethnic groups within the black communities to receive or react to policies in different ways (the same contention can be made for class and regional differences among blacks).³ As a consequence, in seeking bibliographic sources on the American society, it was

not possible to identify a typology that acknowledged ethnicity or subethnicity within race. Although a typology sensitive to ethnic variation within a given race was not encountered, we must be quite aware of this complexity. Any effort to present a bibliography on Caribbean and Latin American groupings should necessarily reflect that awareness. Going further (to look at another area of omission) we find that there are as yet no studies that deal specifically, in depth, *and* comparatively with female migrants who are also classifiable as racial and ethnic minorities.

Historical sources were among the most obvious to which to turn for information on Caribbean and black immigrants to the United States. It is very evident, however, after even a brief perusal of historical sources that they must be used with some discretion particularly when race or ethnicity are factors. It is most certainly *not* the norm to find sensitive examinations of life for people of African extraction in the United States. Sociology, while rife with (and perhaps the most fertile source of) studies on various aspects of the black experience in the United States, stands next to history in terms of the care to be exercised in consulting literature representing this body of knowledge. Like the discipline of history, sociology has been fashioned into an ethnocentric social science in regards to its oftentimes racially biased analyses of organizational social structures and economic, political, cultural and familial

behavior. However, sociological literature does allow a structured view of how groups operate.

One of the least fertile areas of inquiry proved to be the field of political science; not because of a dearth of literature but, perhaps, because of the nature of the discipline (i.e., that it focuses upon levels of organization and the power aspects of group interaction). There are few "positive" historical analyses of (a) the power aspect of relations between blacks and nonblacks in the United States or (2) prescriptive ways in which blacks and whites can or do control negative (racist or discriminatory) behavior either institutionally or otherwise.

Psychological and cultural anthropological studies were examined for objective insights that revealed specific manifestations or observable forms of racial and/or ethnic consciousness. It is with these two disciplines that creative and biographic literature served as complements. This type of pairing of bibliographic resources gives fuller insight into individual behaviors and attitudes, as well as their determinants.

Finally, pertinent economic and demographic literature is included when it can provide information on the physical movement of black and circum-Caribbean females into and within the United States. There have been sufficient studies and generations of people so that we may begin to engage in codification, analysis, and evaluation of the studies which do exist in terms of

(a) degree of reinforcement of contradiction in these studies, whether methodological, generational, et cetera; (b) directions pointed to in policy formulations; (c) degree of interchange between studies of black women and studies of women of other racial origins; and (d) degree to which studies have been able to cope with variations among blacks including regional, cross-societal, class, and identity considerations.

The bibliography contains books, articles, and dissertations. Many citations derive from dissertations. Some things have been left out because they veer too far from a focus on either immigrants or women. This does not pretend to be an exhaustive bibliography and some works have been included because they must be criticized for misuse of information on the immigrant experience or ethnic and black women. When a work is explicitly about females, we have attempted to provide extended annotations. But, the work is unevenly annotated. Generally, two kinds of work are annotated: (1) those relating to the non-European ethnic or racial population and (2) those tied to intraethnic differences specifically among blacks and populations labeled or cast into a presumed monolithic category of black.

The following is a sample listing of the types of resources that were consulted during the compilation of the bibliography.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND INDEXES: *Bibliographic Index:*

A Cumulative Bibliography of Bibliographies (N.Y.:

H.W. Wilson Co.); *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* 40 volumes (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin); and *A World Bibliography of Bibliographies* 5 volumes, 4th edition by Theodore Besterman (Lausanne: Societa Bibliographica, 1965). *Book Review Digest* (N.Y.: H.W. Wilson Co.); *Cumulative Book Index* (N.Y.: H.W. Wilson); *Essay and General Literature Index* (N.Y.: H.W. Wilson Co.); *Guide to Historical Literature* by the American Historical Association (N.Y.: Macmillan, 1961); *Index to Religious Periodical Literature* (Chicago: American Theological Library Association); *International Index to Periodicals* (N.Y.: H.W. Wilson Co.); *Social Science and Humanities Index* (N.Y.: H.W. Wilson Co.); *Subject Guide to Books in Print* (N.Y.: R.R. Bowker Co.).

SUBJECT BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND INDEXES: *Female Studies I: A Collection of College Syllabi and Reading Lists* (Pittsburgh: KNOW, Inc., 1970); *Female Studies II and III* edited by Florence Howe and Carol Ahlum (Pittsburgh: KNOW, Inc., 1970-71); *Female Studies I-IV* by the Modern Language Association Commission on Women (Pittsburgh: KNOW, Inc.); *Index to Women of the World from Ancient to Modern Times* by Norma Olin Ireland (Westwood, Mass.: F.W. Faxon Co., 1970); *International Bibliography of Research in Marriage and the*

Family, 1800-1864 by Joan Aldous and Reuben Hill
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1967); *Womanhood Media* by Helen Wheeler (Metuchen,
N.Y.: Scarecrow Press, 1972); *Women: A Biblio-*
graphy by Lucinda Cisler (N.Y.: Box 240, Printed
by author 1970); *Women Studies Abstracts* vols.
I-III, no. 1, (Rush, N.Y.: Women Studies
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NOTES

¹Cecyle S. Neidle, *America's Immigrant Women* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975), from the unpaginated Preface.

²*Ibid*, pp. 17-18.

³William J. Wilson and Thomas Sowell make the same contention with regard to class differences among blacks.

A. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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4. Aguirre, Benigno E. "Differential Migration of Cuban Social Races: Review and Interpretation of the Problem." Paper presented at the 50th annual meeting of the North Central Sociological Assn., Columbus, Ohio, 1975.
Occupational characteristics of Cuban refugees at the time of entry was secured from records of the Cuban Refugee Center in Miami, Florida. U.S. Census statistics reflecting increasing racial homogeneity of the Cubans residing in this country during the 1960 and 1970 census enumerations are presented. As migration became increasingly prevalent in every occupational category, African-Americans participated proportionately less in it. Two social processes -- the characteristics of extended family networks in Cuba and the nature

of Cuban ideology on race relations -- are analyzed to offer explanations for this migration pattern.

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 Studies some verses in Papiamento (the creole language of the Caribbean) published in 1830. Gives some data on the emigration of African slaves from Curaçao to Puerto Rico in the 17th and 18th centuries, and of the free population of various nationalities on the same route and direction in the 18th and 19th centuries.

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82. Brown, David L. "Recent Changes in the Demographic Structure of Urban and Rural Families." Working Paper No. 7706, Washington, D.C.: Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service, 1977. Despite pervasive and far-reaching changes in the institution of the family, demographic data suggest not a breakdown of the family but significant changes in structure and function. Compares profiles of family characteristics from 1950-1970 in terms of age, birth rate, race (African vs. Caucasian), demography, family structure, females, marital stability, migration, rural-urban differences, women working outside of the home.
83. Brown, J. K. "Note on the Division of Labor by Sex (Jamaica)." *American Anthropologist* 75 (October 1973): 1724-1728.
84. Brown, Lloyd W. "The Rhythms of Power in Paule Marshall's Fiction." *Novel* 7 (Winter 1974): 159-167.
85. Brown, Morgan C. "Selected Characteristics of Southern Rural Negroes Exchanged to a Southern Urban Center." *Rural Sociology* 27 (March 1962): 63-70.
86. Brown, Myrtle Irene. "Changing Maternity Care Patterns in Migrant Puerto Ricans: A Study of Acculturation in a Group of Puerto Rican Women in New York City, Relevant to the Extent of Their Utilization of Professional Health Care during the Maternity Cycle." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1961.

87. Brown, Susan E. *Women and Their Mates: Coping with Poverty in the Dominican Republic*. New York: MSS Information Corp., n.d.
88. Bryant, Willa C. "Discrimination against Women in General: Black Southern Women in Particular." *Civil Rights Digest* 4 (Summer 1971): 10-11.
89. Bryce-Laporte, Roy S. "Black Immigrants." In *Through Different Eyes -- Black and White Perspectives on American Race Relations*. Edited by Peter Rose, Stanley Rothman and William Wilson. London: Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 44-61.
Once in the U.S., the black immigrant is confronted with racism in two ways: (1) as a black, and (2) as a black immigrant. As a result, adjustment is a difficult transition since the individual is different from the white majority and from the African-American. However, there is a generalized racism towards all blacks, including the immigrant, which results in a growing consciousness among all blacks, within and among societies, leading frequently to their politicization.
90. Buckley, Tom. "Calypso Finds Brooklyn a Home Away from Home." *New York Times*, 12 June 1974, p. 47.
The number of West Indians living in New York City is rapidly increasing, estimates go as high as one million. The Majority are believed to be in the country illegally, having overstayed their tourist visas. The immigrants have relatively little social contact with either black or white Americans and rely on older settlers for advice and financial help. They live in the Bedford-Styvesant and Crown Heights sections of Brooklyn and have organized themselves into clubs and associations. Most are believed to be saving as much as they can in

order to buy a house and a business when they return home.

91. Burgess, Jane K. "The Single-Parent Family: A Social and Sociological Problem." *The Family Coordinator* 19 (April 1970): 137-144.
92. Burman, J. *Spanish-speaking Groups in the United States*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1954.
93. Burton, Roger V. and Whiting, John W. M. "The Absent Father and Cross-Sex Identity." *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* 7 (1961): 85-95.
94. Business and Professional Women's Foundation. *Women and Work in U.S. History: An Annotated Selected Bibliography*. Washington, D.C.: Business and Professional Women's Foundation, 1976. One hundred and five selections are presented dealing with interchange between American women and the U.S. Materials are arranged in four categories: (1) research in the methods and theory of women's history and theoretical frameworks developed about women's work experience; (2) earlier scholarship; (3) contemporary scholarship and (4) guides to further resources. Included in the citations are experiences of Jewish, African-American, Native American, and non-black women.
95. Butter, I. "The Migratory Flow of Doctors to and from the United States." *Medical Care* 9 (1971): 17-31.
96. Buvinic, Mayra. *Women and World Development: An Annotated Bibliography*. Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1976.
97. Buxenbaum, Alva. "The Status of Women Workers." *Political Affairs* 52 (November 1973): 31-42. A communist perspective on the status of and dis-

crimination against women workers, especially African-Americans.

98. Byrne, Joycelin, "A Fertility Survey in Barbados." *Social and Economic Studies* 15 (1966): 368-378.
99. _____. "Knowledge and Use of Birth Control in Barbados." *Demography* 4 (1967): 431-440.
100. _____. *Levels of Fertility in Commonwealth Caribbean, 1921-1965*. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute for Social and Economic Research, 1972.
101. _____. "A Note on the 1970 Population Census of Barbados." *Social and Economic Studies* 20 (1971): 431-440.
102. Byrne, Joycelin. "Population Growth in St. Vincent." *Social and Economic Studies* 18 (1969): 152-188.
103. Cade, Toni, ed. *The Black Woman: An Anthology*. N.Y.: Mentor Books, 1970.
104. Cahill, E. E. "Migration and Decline of Black Population in Rural and Non-metropolitan Areas." *Phylon* 35 (1974): 284-292.
105. Calef, Wesley C. and Nelson, Howard J. "Distribution of Negro Population in the United States." *Geographical Review* 46 (January 1956): 82-97.
106. Camarano, Chris. "On Cuban Women." *Leviathan* 21 (May 1970): 39-42.
107. Campbell, R. R., Johnson, D. M., Stangler, G. J. "Counterstream Migration of Black People to the South -- Data from 1970 Public Use Sample." *Review of Public Data Use* 3 (1975): 13-21.
108. Campbell, Rex R.; Johnson, Daniel M.; and Stangler, Gary J. "Return Migration of Black People to the South." *Rural Sociology* 39 (Winter 1974) 514-529.
109. Carpenter, Niles. *Immigrants and Their Children 1920*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing

Office, 1927.

The study is based on census statistics relative to the foreign-born and the native white of foreign or mixed parentage. The study includes distribution of foreign stock, nationality, ethnic, and language composition of the foreign stock, age and sex composition, fecundity and vitality, marital condition, intermarriage, and illegitimacy, citizenship and occupations of the foreign-born population. Concerning black immigration, the study concluded that there had been a marked resurgence in the migration of blacks; that it originated chiefly in the West Indies and the Atlantic Islands; that it was concentrated in certain points along the Atlantic seaboard; and that it was likely to continue and therefore further to complicate the race problems of the U.S.

110. Carr, Crystal. *Ebony Jewels: A Selected Bibliography of Books By and About Black Women*. Revised. Inglewood, Calif.: Crenshaw-Imperial Branch Library, 1975.
111. Carter, Hodding. "The Negro Exodus from the Delta Continues." *New York Times Magazine* 10 March 1968, pp. 26, 27.
112. Casal, Lourdes. "Memories of a Black Cuban Childhood." *Nuestro*, April 1978, pp. 61-62.
113. Casal, Lourdes, and Hernandez, Andres R. "Cubans in the U.S.: A Survey of Literature." *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos* 5 (July 1975): 25-51. The survey and discussion is organized around the following areas: a) causes of migration; b) demographic composition of the exiles and the question of 'representativeness'; c) exiles as sources of information about the society of origin; d) assimilation or acculturation of exiles to U.S. society;

- e) political behavior and attitudes of exiles;
 - f) changes in the family and sex roles; g) mental health; h) occupational adjustment, skill transferability, and social mobility; i) youth problems;
 - j) Cubans on welfare and other special 'at risk' groups such as the aged and black Cubans;
 - k) relationships of Cubans to other ethnic and racial groups; and l) impact of the Cuban immigration on the host society and refugee aid programs.
114. Cebula, R. J., Kohn, R. M., and Vedder, R. K. "Determinants of Interstate Migration of Blacks, 1965-1970." *Western Economic Journal* 11 (1973): 500-505.
 115. Cebula, Richard J. "A Note on Non-white Migration, Welfare Levels, and the Political Process." *Public Choice* 28, (Winter 1976: 117-119.
The author empirically tests a hypothesis regarding the effect of welfare payments on migration patterns of black families, and in turn, the effect of that migration pattern on subsequent welfare payments.
 116. Chaney, Elsa, and Sutton, Constance, editors. *Afro-Caribbean and Hispanic Immigration to the Eastern U.S.A.* Staten Island, N.Y.: Center for Migration Studies, 1979.
 117. "Changing Status of Negro Women Workers." *Monthly Labor Review* 87 (June 1964): 671-673.
 118. Charlton, Huey E. "Stability of the Negro Family in a Southern Community." Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1958.
 119. Chenault, Lawrence. *The Puerto Rican Migrant in New York City.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1938.

120. Cherry, Frank Talley. "Southern In-migrant Negroes in North Lawndale, Chicago. 1949-1959: A Study of Internal Migration and Adjustment." Ph.D. dissertation, the University of Chicago, 1966.
121. Chiñas, Beverly Litzler. "Women as Ethnographic Subjects." In *Women in Cross-Cultural Perspectives: Preliminary Sourcebook*, edited by Sue-Ellen Jacobs. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1971, pp. 22-31.
122. Chisholm, Shirley. *The Good Fight*. N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1973.
123. _____. *Unbought and Unbossed*. Boston: Houghton & Mifflin Co., 1970.
124. Christian, Virgil L. Jr., and Marshall, F. Ray. "Negro Occupational Status and Education: Special Analysis under the Negroes' Employment in the Seven Southern SMSAs' Study." Washington, D.C.: Office of Research and Development, 1974.
125. Cinel, Dean. "Ethnicity: A Neglected Dimension of American History." *The International Migration Review* 3 (Summer 1969): 58-66.
126. Cintrón, Celia Fernández de, and Quintero, Marcia Rivera. "Bases de la sociedad sexista en Puerto Rico." [Bases for sexist society in Puerto Rico.] *Revista/Review Interamericana* 4 (1974): 239-245.
127. Cintrón, Celia Fernández de, and Vales, Pedro A. *Social Dynamics of Return Migration to Puerto Rico*. Rio Piedras: Puerto Rico University, 1975. Authors examine the sociological elements associated with the process of return migration.
128. Clark, Juan M. "The Cuban Escapees as Possible Factual Indicators of Cuban Social Conditions." *Latinamericanist* 6 (Nov. 1970): 1-4. The paper discusses Cubans who left the island by unconventional means (boats, rafts) and points out

that they are more representative (in terms of occupational mix) of the Cuban population as a whole than other exile samples.

129. Clarke, Austin C. "The Meaning of Immigration: Some Psychological Speculations about the Immigration of Black West Indians to Toronto and Canada." *Black Lines* 1 (1970): 9-16.
130. Clarke, Edith. *My Mother Who Fathered Me: A Study of the Family in Three Selected Communities in Jamaica*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1967.
131. Clifford, William B., and Faulkner, Gary L. "North Carolina's Elderly Population: A Distributional Analysis." Raleigh: North Carolina State Univ. Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1975.
132. Cloward, R. A., and Fox Piven, F., "Migration, Politics and Welfare." *Saturday Review*, Nov. 16, 1968, pp. 31-35.
 Author asserts that the main cause of the rising AFDC rolls is neither defective individuals in an open American economic system nor the deterioration of the black family, but migration -- the vast redistribution of black people from rural to urban areas and from South to North.
133. Coe, Paul E. "Nonwhite Population Increases in Metropolitan Areas,:" *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 50 (June 1955) 283-308.
134. Cole, Johnetta B. "Black Women in America: An Annotated Bibliography." *Black Scholar* 3 (Dec. 1971): 42-53.
 Selective bibliography includes materials on black women under ten general headings including socialist writings on women; women in revolutionary societies; women in Africa; black families in Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States, and black women in the United States.

135. Coleman, A. Lee; Pryor, Albert C. Jr.; Christiansen, John R. *The Negro Population of Kentucky at Mid-Century*. Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 643, 1956.
A study of the African-American population in Kentucky, using 1950 census data and related information. Relatively high out-migration was a major factor in accounting for the decreasing population of black Americans in Kentucky's total population. Kentucky appeared to be a "way point," in that it received blacks from the areas of dense black population to the south and sends its own native African-Americans on to the states further north.
136. Coles, Robert. "Living on the Road: The Story of Ruth James, A Black Migrant Worker. (Excerpt from 'Women of Crisis')." *New York Times Magazine* 5 March 1978, p. 90.
137. _____. "What Migrant Farm Children Learn," *Saturday Review* 48 (15 May 1965): 73-74.
138. Comitas, Lambros. *Caribbeana 1900-1965, A Topical Bibliography*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968.
139. Cordasco, Francesco, and Golatito, Rocco G. "Ethnic Displacement in the Interstitial Community: The East Harlem (NYC) Experience." *Journal of Negro Education* 40 (1970): 56-65.
A study of the sociologically complex area of the upper East Side of Manhattan, known as East Harlem. The movement of the largest ethnic groups through the area is charted from 1900 to 1960. The growth of the Italian population and its replacement by African-Americans and Puerto Ricans is traced and explained. Ethnicity in American intergroup life is described.

140. Cordasco, F. M., and Covello, L. "Studies of Puerto Rican Children in American Schools. A Preliminary Bibliography." *Journal of Human Relations* 12 (Spring 1968): 264-285.
141. Cordasco, Francesco, and Bucchioni, Eugene. *The Puerto Rican Experience -- A Sociological Source-book*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1973.
142. Cottingham, Phoebe H. "Black Income and Metropolitan Residential Dispersion." *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 10 (March 1975): 273-295.
As blacks achieve economic, educational, and occupational parity with whites, more blacks are expected to make residential choices outside the central city. In this paper 1970 census data for Philadelphia is used to estimate black and non-black suburban selection functions.
143. Cowhig, James D. "The Negro Population of the United States, March 1967." *Welfare in Review* 7 (January-February 1967): 14-16.
144. Cumper, George E. "Preliminary Analysis of Population Growth and Social Characteristics in Jamaica, 1943-1960." *Social and Economic Studies* 12 (1963): 393-436.
145. Dambaugh, L. N. "Role of Migratory Agricultural Labor in South Florida." *Association of American Geographers Annals* 48 (September 1958): 258.
A study of migrant agricultural laborers in South Florida. Emphasis on employment, health, and housing problems connected with the movement of these seasonal workers. In spite of the rapid adoption of technology, an increase in farm operations has increased the demand for labor. Southern blacks, Texas-Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and a few whites and Bahamians are recruited by the Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment

Security. When crops, weather and market demands are normal, there is full employment for the migrants from November through April.

146. Daniels, George M. "New Voices in the Caribbean: The West Indian Woman's Struggle for Recognition." *Tuesday Magazine (Washington Star)* 22 April 1973, pp. 6-7, 15, 19-20.
The liberation of women from the discrimination which inhibits them from full participation in the life of their countries is becoming a priority among the women in the Caribbean. The West Indian woman is increasingly taking advantage of educational opportunities -- 60 percent of all teachers are female and women are now enrolled in once-restricted agricultural schools, being trained in farm management and market research. Women have also made advances in commerce (there have traditionally been women with their own businesses) but in the factories sexual discrimination is still strong.
147. Dannett, Sylvia G. L. *Profiles of Negro Womanhood*. N.Y.: M. W. Lads, 1964.
148. DaSilva, Paulo Vieira. "African and Latin American Graduate Students' Assessment of Situations Related to Their Academic Life in the United States." Ph.D. dissertation. University of Southern Calif. 1974.
149. David, Bernard. "La Population d'un Quartier de la Martinique au Debut du XIXes Siecle d'Apres les Registres Paroissiaux: Riviere-Pilote, 1802-1829." [The population of a quarter of Martinique at the beginning of the 19th century according to parish registers: Riviere-Pilote, 1802-1829]. *Revue Francaise d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer (France)* 60 (1973): 330-363.

150. Davidson, Maria. "Social and Economic Characteristics of Aged Persons (65 years Old and Over) in the United States in 1960." *Eugenics Quarterly* 14 (1967): 27-44.
Men earn more than women in every age and occupational group. Includes comparisons between the sexes for occupation, migration, and marital status.
151. Davis, Lenwood G., comp. *The Black Family in Urban Areas in the United States: A Bibliography of Published Works on the Black Family in Urban Areas in the United States* (2nd ed.). Monticello, Ill.: Council of Planning Librarians. 1975.
152. _____, comp. *The Black Women in American Society: A Selected Annotated Bibliography*. Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1975.
153. Davis, Lenwood G. *Black Women in the Cities*. Council of Planning Librarians, Monticello, Ill., 1975.
154. Davison, Victoria F., and Shannon, Lyle W. "Change in the Economic Absorption of a Cohort of Immigrant Mexican Americans and Negroes Between 1960 and 1971." *International Migration Review* 11 (Summer 1977): 190-214.
A longitudinal study of 280 Mexican-Americans, 280 African-Americans, and 413 Anglos in Racine, Wis., measured the extent to which change took place in the economic differences between Anglos, on the one hand, and Mexican-Americans, on the other, according to three sets of variables: (1) occupational; (2) income; and (3) level of living. The occupational and income differences between 1960 and 1971 remained essentially the same or increased on the most crucial measures. Differences in level of living and home conditions remained fairly stable or decreased. Differences between Mexican-Americans and African-Americans tended to decrease in all areas.

155. DeGraaf, Lawrence Brooks. "The City of Black Angels: Emergence of the Los Angeles Ghetto, 1890-1930." *Pacific Historical Review* 39 (1970): 323-352. Studies the origins and growth of the black ghetto, since 1900 the largest in California. Describes the ghetto as it was both before and after the great migration from the South which started in 1915, and the gradual increase of restriction to and deterioration of the area. Covers the housing situation and the relationships with other minorities, both major factors in the distinctive nature of the black ghetto in Los Angeles.
156. _____. "Negro Migration to Los Angeles, 1930-1950." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 1962.
157. Derton, John. *Cubans in Miami: A Third Dimension in Racial and Cultural Relations*. Nashville, Tenn.: Race Relations Information Center, 1969. An informal report, based on interviews conducted in the Miami area about Cuban-black relations and Cubans' acceptance by the white majority. The report concludes with the assessment that "there are Cubans who are experiencing exclusion, exploitation, and dissipation of their culture" and thus "as assimilation progresses, the interests of the Cubans and the more than 200,000 black Americans in Dade County begin to coincide," although a coalition does not seem imminent.
158. Dickinson, Joan Younger. "The Role of the Immigrant Women in the U.S. Labor Force, 1890-1910." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1975.
159. Dillman, B. L., and McElveen, J. V. "Migration of Youth from Rural Households of the Northeast Coastal Plain of South Carolina." Clemson: South Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station, 1971.

The purpose of this study was to determine whether there were identifiable differences in the characteristics of three groups of youths: (1) those who remained in the same or adjoining counties (non-migrants), (2) those who migrated to other areas of the South, and (3) those who migrated to areas outside the South.

160. Dominguez, Virginia R. *From Neighbor to Stranger: The Dilemma of Caribbean Peoples in the United States*. New Haven: Antilles Research Program, Yale University, 1975.

Caribbean immigrants are divided into three categories: (1) immigrants -- Dominicans, Haitians, and British West Indians, (2) refugees -- Cubans, and (3) citizens -- Puerto Ricans. Reasons for migrating differ within and among the groups in terms of occupational distribution and educational attainment as indices of socioeconomic status, differences between these migrants are also explored. The Cubans and British West Indians tend to be better off than the Haitians, Dominicans, and Puerto Ricans. Cultural pluralism is seen as an alternative for minority groups who have found total assimilation in the dominant culture impossible.

161. _____. "The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in New York: The Middle Race." *Revista Interamericana/ Interamericana Review* 3 (1973): pp. 135-142.

This article deals with the issue of social interaction in an urban multiethnic, multicolor neighborhood (Washington Heights in New York City) and the influence of this interaction on the search for identity among adolescents of Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Dominican extraction. The project's main concern was the differential perception and social manipulation of physical appearance

between Caribbean populations and American society, or the consequences of self-identification of the 'Middle Race.'

162. Dowd, Donald Jerome. "A Comparative Study of Attitudes, Goals, and Values between Negro American, White American, and Cuban Refugee Groups in a Large Southern City." Ed.D. dissertation, The University of Florida, 1966.
163. Du Fresne, E., and Du Fresne, W. "Foreign Migrant Workers vs. Sovereign Immunity-Poverty Law in a Transnational Context." *The Columbia Journal of Transnational Law* 8 (Winter 1969): 196-219.
A study of the treatment of West Indian migrant workers in the U.S. Farm Labor Program who are involved in wage and labor disputes.
164. Dworkin, A. G., and Dworkin, R. J., eds. *The Minority Report: An Introduction to Racial, Ethnic, and Gender Relations*. N.Y.: Praeger Pub., 1976.
Ten authors stress two central themes: (1) race, ethnicity, and gender relations are social variables subject to social definition and consequences; and (2) sociology can provide several heuristic orientations toward such social data, definitions, and consequences. "The Reports" in part two comprise individual case studies authored by sociologists who are members of the minorities they discuss (Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and "Women").
165. Ebanks, G. Edward; George, P. M.; and Nobbe, Charles E. "Emigration and Fertility Decline: The Case of Barbados." *Demography* 12 (1975): 431-445.
The purpose of this study was to determine what part net migration loss played in reduction of the crude birth rate from 33.6 to 1960 to 20.5 in

1970. Findings of the study led to the conclusions that emigration is a significant contributor to the fertility declines which have occurred and are still underway. The pertinence of this article to Caribbean emigration is its reflection of the effects of the process on the sending area.
166. Edwards, Esther P. "The Children of Migratory Agricultural Workers in the Public Elementary Schools of the United States: Needs and Proposals in the Area of Curriculum." *Howard Educational Review* 30 (Winter 1960): 12-52.
 167. Ellison, Julian. "Afro-American Migration to Africa (Some African Governments' Policies on Such Migration)." *Africa* (August 1977): 76-77.
 168. Elton, Charlotte. "The Economic Determinants of Female Migration in Latin America." Master's thesis, University of Sussex, England, 1976.
 169. Epps, Willie James. "Factors in Employment Migration of Black Doctorate Holders from Predominantly Black Colleges to Predominantly White Colleges: 1965-1972." Ph.D. dissertation, Kansas State University, 1974.
 170. Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs. "Black and Female: The Double Whammy." *Psychology Today* (August, 1973): 57.
 171. _____. "Positive Effects of the Multiple Negative: Explaining the Success of Black Professional Women." *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (January 1973): 912-935.
 172. Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs. "Successful Black Professional Women." *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (January 1973): 965-982.
To be both black and female in American society has most typically meant being cumulatively

disadvantaged with regard to positions of power and prestige. Holding these multiple negatively evaluated statuses has meant that black women have clustered at the very bottom of most strata. Article explores patterns leading to the success of a small minority of black women who work in occupations of high rank.

173. Fagen, Richard R.; Brody, Richard A.; and O'Leary, Thomas J. *Cubans in Exile: Disaffection and the Revolution*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968.
174. Farley, Reynolds. "Fertility among Urban Blacks." *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 2 (April 1970): 183-214.
175. Farley, Reynolds, and Taeuber, Karl E. "Population Trends and Segregation since 1960 -- Special Censuses for 13 Cities Reveal Increasing Concentration of Highly Segregated Negroes." *Science* 159 (March 1968): 953-956.
176. Farley, Reynolds. "Recent Changes in Negro Fertility." *Demography* 3 (1966): 188-203.
177. _____. "The Urbanization of Negroes in the United States." *Journal of Social History* 1 (1968): 241-258.
178. Farrell, Walter C.; Klithcart, Phillip E.; and Jordan, Kenneth R. "Psychological and Other Factors in Black Migration." *Negro History Bulletin* 41 (March-April 1978): 812.
179. Feagin, Joe R. "The Kinship Ties of Negro Urbanites." *Social Science Quarterly* 49 (December 1968): 660-665.
Based on an evaluation study done in Boston's Roxbury-Dorchester ghetto.

180. Fichter, Joseph H. "Career Expectations of Negro Women Graduates." *Monthly Labor Review* 90 (1978): 36-42.
181. _____. *Graduates of Predominantly Negro Colleges -- Class of 1964*. Public Health Services Publication, no. 1571. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964.
182. Fitzpatrick, Joseph P. "The Integration of Puerto Ricans." *Thought* 30 (Autumn 1955): 402-420. A study of the process of cultural assimilation as it affects Puerto Rican migrants. It notes changing situations which make the process of assimilation different for Puerto Ricans than for earlier immigrant groups.
183. Fitzpatrick, J. P., and Gould, R. E. "Mental Illness among Puerto Ricans in New York: Cultural Condition or Intercultural Misunderstanding?" *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 40 (March 1970) 238-239. The authors suggest that "intercultural misunderstanding and flaws in the delivery of mental health services may explain why rates are much higher for Puerto Ricans."
184. Fitzpatrick, Joseph. *Puerto Rican Americans -- The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971.
185. _____. "Puerto Ricans in Perspective: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland." *International Migration Review* 2 (Spring 1968): 7-20. This article examines the unique characteristics of the Puerto Rican migration, the process of assimilation particularly in relation to the search for identity which presents a number of special problems to the Puerto Ricans, and analyzes the special problems of identity.

186. Fleisher, B. "Some Economic Aspects of Puerto Rican Migration to the U.S." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 45 (August 1963): 221-230.
187. Fleming, Samuel H. "Rural-Urban Migration of Blacks: Changing Social Organization in Memphis." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1974.
188. Forbes, Jack D. "Black Pioneers: The Spanish-speaking Afro-Americans of the Southwest." *Phylon* 27 (Fall 1966): 233-246.
189. Foerster, Robert F. "The Racial Problems Involved in Immigration from Latin America and the West Indies to the U.S." In *Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization*, House of Representatives, 68th Congress, Second Session, March 1925. Government Printing Office, 1925.
190. Fortune, Hilda O. "A Study of the Power Position of Mothers in Contemporary Negro Family Life in New York City." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1963.
191. Fox, Geoffrey E. "Cuban Racism." In *Cuban Communism*, 2nd ed., edited by Irving Louis Horowitz. Edison, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1972, pp. 261-282.
An essay on Cuban racial attitudes based on interviews with Cuban workers in Chicago.
192. _____. "Honor, Shame and Women's Liberation in Cuba: Views of Working Class Emigré Men." In *Female and Male in Latin America, Essays*, edited by Ann Pescatello. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973, pp. 273-290.
In Cuba there have been dramatic changes with respect to Cuba's cultural tradition and the status of women. This change requires men to redefine their moral codes and cultural roles. The result has been the emigration of those men unwilling or unable to do so. With the Cuban Revolution the

care and education of children was transferred to public institutions, freeing the woman from her traditional role in the extended family.

193. _____. "Race, Sex, and Revolution in Cuba." In *Interracial Marriage: Expectations and Realities*, edited by I. R. Stuart and L. Abt. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1973, pp. 293-308.
194. France, Edward Everett. "Some Aspects of the Migration of the Negro to the San Francisco Bay Area Since 1940." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1962.
195. Frazier, E. Franklin. "Ethnic Family Patterns: The Negro Family in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 53 (May 1948): 435-438. Loss of cultural heritage and the requirements of slavery caused the African-American family to develop as a natural organization with the mother as head. After emancipation the family tended to assume an institutional character among those elements which had taken over the familial mores of the whites and those who had become homeowners. Urbanization, especially since the first World War, has caused considerable disorganization, since the family which evolved could not function efficiently in the city. Important differences in the organization of the family and its approximation to the American pattern are related to the emerging class structure.
196. Fried, Marc. "Grieving for a Lost Home." In *The Urban Condition: People and Policy in the Metropolis*, edited by Leonard J. Duhl. N.Y.: Basic Books, 1963, pp. 151-172.
197. Fuentes, Sonia. "Job Discrimination and the Black Woman." *Crisis* (March 1970): 103-108.

198. Gallaway, Lowell, and Vedder, Richard. "Location Decisions of Puerto Rican Immigrants to the United States." *Social and Economic Studies* 20 (1970): 188-197.
Data on Puerto Ricans moving to the U.S. during the period 1947-1960 showed that Puerto Ricans are extremely sensitive to interstate income differentials as expressed by per capita income and the availability of job opportunities. The number of Puerto Ricans in a state is affected significantly by the distance between the state and the New York City, Miami, Florida, areas.
199. Geismar, Ludwig L. and Gerhart, Ursula E. "Social Class, Ethnicity, and Family Functioning: Exploring Some Issues Raised by the Moynihan Report." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 30 (August 1968): 480-487.
This research attempts to assess the influence of social class on the way ethnic group membership affects family behavior. New interest in this issue was sparked by publication of the so-called Moynihan Report. Findings show the social status overshadows ethnicity in determining the nature of family functioning.
200. Gerber, David A. "The First African Woman Graduate of an American University." *Negro History Bulletin* 36 (April 1973).
The author briefly details the experiences of Charlotte Manye Maxexe. Her story is interesting not only because she may well have been the first African national of her sex to obtain a degree in the U.S., but also because of the very early date (1892-1901) of her American education.
201. Gerber, Stanford N., and Stanton, Howard R. "Ethnic Structure and Social Change in the U.S. Virgin Islands." In *The Family in the Caribbean: Pro-*

- ceedings of the Conference on the Family in the Caribbean, Aruba Netherlands Antilles, December 1-8, 1969.* Edited by Stanford N. Gerber. Rio Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1973, pp. 137-140.
202. Gerber, Stanford N., ed. *The Family in the Caribbean.* Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: Institute of Caribbean Studies, 1968.
203. _____. "Immigration and Ethnic Relations in the United States Virgin Islands." Paper presented to the 71st Annual General Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Toronto, November 29 - December 3, 1972.
204. Gerber, Stanford N., and Gregg E. Whitman. "Notes on Recent Immigrants to the U.S.V.I." *International Migration Review* 5 (1971): 357-362.
205. Gibson, Margaret Alison. "Ethnicity and Schooling: A Caribbean Case Study." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1976.
206. Giele, Janet Zollinger, and Smock, Audrey Chapman. *Women Around the World.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.
207. _____. *Women: Roles and Status in Eight Countries.* N.Y.: Halsted Press, 1977.
208. Gil, Vincent Edward. "The Personal Adjustment and Acculturation of Cuban Immigrants in Los Angeles." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1976.
209. Gillette, Thomas L. "The Working Mother: A Study of the Relationship between Maternal Employment and Family Structure as Influenced by Social Class and Race." Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1961.

210. Glazer, Nathan. "The Puerto Ricans." *Commentary* 36 (1963): 1-9.
Analyzes migration, assimilation, and adjustment patterns of Puerto Ricans who have settled in New York City. Emphasis is on family structure, housing, religion, voting habits, social and sexual mores, employment and business activities, organizational life, and relationships with other ethnic groups, and with Puerto Rico.
211. Glick, Nina, and Barnett, Karen. *The Formation of a Haitian Ethnic Group*. Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1972.
212. Goddard, David. "Letter to an American Friend," *Race* 5 (January 1964): 30-37.
Experiences of an Englishman with a Puerto Rican wife in the southern States.
213. Gottlieb, Peter. "Making Their Own Way: Southern Blacks' Migration to Pittsburgh, 1916-1930." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1977.
214. Gonzalez, Nancie Solien. "Multiple Migratory Experience of Dominican Women." *Anthropological Quarterly* 49 (January 1976): 36-43.
Sex is analyzed as a discriminatory factor in the migratory process. Author suggests that there are few avenues open to ambitious lower-class Dominican women (prostitution, domestic service, and work in the U.S. garment industry). Political economy of the Caribbean is cited as a contributor to the heavy outmigration from the Dominican Republic.
215. _____. "Peasants' Progress: Dominicans in New York." *Caribbean Studies* 10 (1970): 154-171.
This article is a study of the process of urbanization in the Dominican Republic and its implications for the social structure of the country.

Peasants migrating from rural areas consider the *ideal* end-point not Santo Domingo but New York City. The time period 1957-1966 is studied concerning the emigration. Many migrants go to New York with the idea of earning a large sum of money and then returning home to invest in a better future. Young immigrants frequently remain in the U.S.

216. Goossen, Jean. "The Migration of French West Indian Women to Metropolitan France." *Anthropological Quarterly* 49 (January 1976): 45-52.
Guadeloupe has been undergoing a modernization process which includes mechanization of cane and banana cultivation, consolidation of sugar mills, importation of clothing formerly locally made, and introduction of supermarkets which employ a few women and supplant the peasant markets which provide many other women with a poor living. These conditions force heavy emigration of both men and women. But, the emigration of the women breaks the kinship network through which old people and children were traditionally helped.
217. Grace, Alonzo Gaskell. "The Effect of Negro Migration on the Cleveland Public School System." Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1932.
218. Graham, Patricia Albjerg. "Women in Higher Education: A Biographical Inquiry." In *Women in Higher Education*, edited by W. T. Furniss and R. A. Graham. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1974.
The difficulty of looking at the history of women in higher education through the same methodological lens as men is that the focus on success brings forth a set of women that is significantly different from the other women educators and from other

women. Investigations of backgrounds of successful women faculty and administrators suggest that many of these women have had one of two experiences: attending an all-girls' high school or college or coming from an immigrant family.

219. Grant, Robert Bruce. "The Negro Comes to the City: A Documentary History from the Great Migration to the Great Depression." Ed.D dissertation, Columbia University, 1970.
220. Green, Vera M. "Racial versus Ethnic Factors in Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean Migration." In *Migration and Development: Implications for Ethnic Identity and Political Conflict*, edited by Helen I Safa and Brian M. DuToit. The Hague: Mouton, 1975, pp. 83-96.
221. Greenblatt, Cathy Stein. "Orientation to Modernization and the Sojourn Experience: A Study of Foreign Students from Four Developing Countries." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1968.
222. Greenwood, Michael J., and Gormely, Patrick J. "A Comparison of the Determinants of White and Non-White Interstate Migration. *Demography* 8 (February 1971): 141-155.
223. Gregory, Chester W. *Women in Defense Work During World War II: An Analysis of the Labor Problems and Women's Rights*. Jericho, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1974.
224. Grier, George, with Eunice Grier. "The Negro Migration: Doubled Population in a Decade Poses Urgent Problems for Northern Cities." *Housing Yearbook*. Washington: National Housing Conference, 1960.
225. Grinstead, Mary Jo, and Scholtz, Sandra. "Poverty, Race, and Culture in a Rural Arkansas Community." *Human Organization* 35 (Spring 1976): 33-44.

226. Groh, G. "Black Migration -- Journey to Urban America." *Journal of Negro History* 59 (1974): 196-203.
227. Gronseth, Evangeline. "Contributions of Jamaican Emigrées to Middle Class Development in the West Indies." Paper presented at the 74th Annual General Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, 1975, San Francisco.
This field report is based on recent research among Jamaicans in an urban area of the West Indies and current research among Jamaican emigrées to New York City and is concerned with the contribution of the latter to the growth of middle class status groups on the island of Jamaica. Data are examined for trends related to mobility strategies and exchange patterns among individuals of both geographic areas in political, economic, educational and social spheres. Methodological problems and theoretical questions are elicited.
228. Groom, D., et al. "Coronary and Aortic Arteriosclerosis in the Negroes of Haiti and the United States." *Annals of Internal Medicine* 51 (August 1959): 270-289.
229. Grosvenor, Verta Mae. *Thursdays and Other Sunday Off: A Domestic Rap*. N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1972.
230. Gullattee, Alyce C. "Psychiatric Factors to Consider in Research on the Black Woman." *Journal of Afro-American Issues* 2 (Summer 1974): 199-203.
231. Guy, Henry A. and George, Elton. *Women in the Caribbean: A Record of Career Women in the Caribbean: Their Background, Services, and Achievements*. Port-of-Spain, Trinidad: Quick-Service Print, 1968. The author's main objective is to make known the biographical accounts of women who have worked

in the Caribbean area. The individual's vital statistics are listed, education qualifications and occupational history, and the story of her achievements "explaining why she deserves a place among the several hundreds of famous women in the Caribbean Islands."

232. Habers, G. Christopher. "The Universal Minority: A Study of the Female Brain Drain of Students from Three Developing Countries." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1972.
233. Hale, Janice E. "The Woman's Role: The Strength of Black Families." *First World* 1 (March/April 1977): 28-30.
234. Halpern, Shelley. "The Relationship Between Ethnic Group Membership and Sex and Aspects of Vocational Choice of Pre-College Black and Puerto Rican Students." Ph.D. dissertation, Fordham University, 1972.

This study specifically examined the effects of sex and/or ethnic group membership on vocational maturity as measured by scores on the Attitude Scale of the Vocational Development Inventory (VDI), on vocational aspiration as measured by the Vocational Aspiration Scale (VAS), on the difference between vocational aspiration and expectation as measured by VAS discrepancy scores, and on job values. Of the students, 82 were African-American males, 116 were African-American females, 33 were Puerto Rican males, and 24 were Puerto Rican females. It was found that the main effects of both sex and ethnic group membership were significant. African-American students and females tended to score higher than males. With reference to VAS scores, the effect of sex was significant; males tended to score higher than females. With reference to VAS discrepancy scores, no significant difference was found.

Also examined were the correlations between VDI and VAS discrepancy scores. Of the students, 82 were African-American males, 116 were African-American females, 33 were Puerto Rican males, and 24 were Puerto Rican females. It was found that the main effects of both sex and ethnic group membership were significant. African-American students and females tended to score higher than males. With reference to VAS scores, the effect of sex was significant; males tended to score higher than females. With reference to VAS discrepancy scores, no significant difference was found.

235. Hamilton, C. Horace. "Educational Selectivity of Migration from Farm to Urban and to Other Nonfarm Communities." In *Mobility and Mental Health*, edited by Mildred B. Kantor. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1965, pp. 166-195.
236. Hamilton, C. Horace. "Educational Selectivity of Net Migration from the South." *Social Forces* 38 (October 1959): 33-42.
237. _____. "The Negro Leaves the South." *Demography* 1 (1964): 273-295.
238. Handlin, Oscar. *The Newcomers: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1959.
239. Hare, Nathan, and Hare, Julia. "Black Women 1970." *Transaction* 8 (November-December 1970): 65-68. The authors present a brief review of the experiences of black women which reveal some of the issues which surround their unique status in America, including the triple exploitation of the black woman (racial, sexual and economic statuses).
240. Harley, Sharon, and Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn, eds. *The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images*. Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1978.

241. Harrigan, Norwell, and Varlack, Pearl I. "The U.S. Virgin Islands and the Black Experience." *Journal of Black Studies* 7 (June 1977): 387-410.
Article gives a brief overview of the history of black people in the U.S. Virgin Islands since the importation of African slaves during the Danish colonial period. Black struggles for legal emancipation and real freedom were followed by the U.S. purchase of the territory in 1917, which produced new kinds of racial problems. The authors note that although the Islands are often portrayed as a great example of democracy and equality, they are in fact full of social tensions among immigrant whites from the mainland who now dominate the business community. Black native Virgin Islanders continue to influence the political arena and bonded aliens of African heritage have comprised most of the labor force since the 1960s.
242. Hartmann, Heidi. "Women's Work in the United States." *Current History* 70 (May 1976): 215-219.
The history of women's work in America can be divided roughly into four periods corresponding to basic changes in the United States economy. In the colonial period women produced a large variety of necessities not available in the country. After 1840, when the nation began to industrialize an industrial proletariat which included women emerged. The third period began with the surge in immigration after 1900. The fourth period encompasses the post-World War II era.
243. Harwood, E., and Hodge, C. "Jobs and the Negro Family: A Reappraisal." *The Public Interest* 23 (Spring 1971): 125-131.
244. Hawkins, H. C. "Trends in Black Migration from 1863 to 1960." *Phylon* 34 (1973): 140-152.

245. Hayes, James H. "Choices of Traditionally Open and Closed Occupations by Black College Seniors." *Dissertation Abstracts International*, Col. 36 (7-A) 4261, January 1976.
246. Haynes, George E. "Negro Migration: Its Effect on Family and Community Life in the North." *Opportunity*, 1924, pp. 271-274, 303-306.
247. Hefner, J. A. "Adjustment Patterns of Black and White Migrants in a Southern Labor Market." *Labor Law Journal* 25 (1974): 453-461.
248. Heitzman, A. J. "Effects of a Token Reinforcement System on Reading Behavior of Black Migrant Primary School Pupils." *Journal of Educational Research* 67 (1974): 299-302.
249. Hellwig, David Johns. "The Afro-American and the Immigrant, 1880-1930: A Study of Black Social Thought." Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1973.
Based primarily on the extensive use of black newspapers and journals the study examines African-American interaction with minority groups during the period 1880-1930. Blacks shared many of the sentiments of white Americans concerning immigrant groups and challenged others. Like white Americans their adherence to the view of America as a refuge for the world's oppressed waned from the late 19th century, though they continued in the belief that their own assimilation was possible if diverse immigrant groups achieved that goal. Whereas unskilled white labor was regarded as competition, Afro-West Indians who were relatively well educated and skilled, would add strength to the black community.
250. Henderson, Grace Gist. "The Academic Self-Concept of Black Female Children within Differential School

Settings." *Journal of Afro-American Issues* (Summer 1974): pp. 243-281.

Author concludes that black youths, who at first were disadvantaged because of their treatment as members of an ethnic group, and secondly come from homes where the mother is head of the household, are twice unblessed in many instances. From results of this study, it is assumed that potential for learning can still be obtained by disadvantaged young men from one-parent families when opportunities, father images, and favorable conditions are at their disposal.

251. Henderson, Julia. "Foreign Labour in the United States during the War." *International Labour Review* 52 (December 1945): 609-631.

During the war the U.S. found it necessary to encourage the immigration of workers from other countries, notably Mexico, the then British West Indies (specifically Jamaica, Barbados and the Bahamas) and Belize, for employment on railroads and in industrial and agricultural undertakings. This immigration was organized on the basis of bilateral agreements with the authorities of the concerned countries. In this article the author reports on a first-hand inspection of the transportation arrangements and housing facilities for the foreign workers in the United States, and also of their working conditions accompanied by a general review of the wartime experience of the U.S.

252. Henri, Florette. *Black Migration: Movement North, 1900-1920*. N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1975. This study attempts to chart the paths of change along which black Americans traveled between the beginning of the 20th century and the end of World War I. Sections on women with respect to

migration, occupations, wages of, education, child care, labor agents, prisons, voting rights, and public office are included.

253. Henríquez de Parades, Querubina. "La mujer latinoamericana y del Caribe y la familia." In *Participación de la mujer en el desarrollo de América Latina y el Caribe* by Q. Henríquez de Parades, Maritza Izaguirre Parades, and Inés Vargas Delaunoy. Santiago: UNICEF, 1975, pp. 31-58.
254. Henry, Keith S. "The Black Political Tradition in New York: A Conjunction of Political Cultures." *Journal of Black Studies* 7 (June 1977): 455-484. This article examines three issues: (1) street journalism; (2) assimilation of West Indian women to African-American women's political standards; and (3) growth of a political sense of community among blacks in New York City.
255. _____. "The Place of the Culture of Migrant Commonwealth Afro-West Indians in the Political Life of Black New York in the Period Circa 1913 to Circa 1966." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1973.
The core of this project was to isolate important characteristics of black political attitudes and behavior in New York, and to determine West Indian cultural/political background.
256. Hernández-Alvarez, José. "The Movement and Settlement of Puerto Rican Migrants within the United States, 1950-1960." *International Migration Review* 2 (2): 40-52.
The author observes that a shift away from New York City occurred both in terms of migration from Puerto Rico and internal movements between states. This resulted in the development of major Puerto Rican communities in eight other metropolitan areas of the U.S.

257. Hernández-Alvarez, José. *Return Migration to Puerto Rico*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California, 1967.
Among four populations the author studies, the most noticeable departure in sex ratio was among return migrants with an excess of females on the order of 20 percent. The author concludes that while the greater tendency of women migrants to return may be transitory, if this trend becomes an abiding feature of return migration, it will have significant consequences and will have to be explained in terms of the dynamics of migration and the different motivations of the sexes.
258. Hernton, Calvin C. *Sex and Racism in America*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965.
259. Hexter, Eleanor. *Century of Struggles: The Woman's Rights Movement in the U.S.* Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959.
260. Higgs, R. "Participation of Blacks and Immigrants in American Merchant Class, 1890-1910 -- Some Demographic Relations." *Explorations in Economic History* 13 (1976): 153-164.
261. Hill, Donald. *West Indian Migration: Host Countries and Differential Change in the Sending Culture*. Paper presented to the 71st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association 29 November-3 December 1972, Toronto.
262. Hill, Herbert. *No Harvest for the Reaper: The Story of the Migratory Agricultural Worker in the United States*. N.Y.: NAACP, 1960.
263. Hill, John R.; Hayes, Edward J.; and Young, Herman. "The Changing American Social Order: Implications for Counselors." *Journal of Non-white Concerns in Personnel and Guidance* 3 (January 1975): 59-65. Migration to and residence in urban areas and

shifting employment and educational patterns; emphasis on career, education, and job information services and development of self-esteem and motivation, implications for counseling black youth, are among the topics covered.

264. Hill, R. *The Strengths of Black Families*. N.Y.: Emerson Hall, 1972.
265. Hills, Stuart L. "Negroes and Immigrants in America." *Sociological Focus* 3 (Summer 1970): 85-96.
266. Hilsheimer, G. von. "Child Care and the Migrant Farm Hand." *Journal of Nursing Education* 18 (September 1963): 262-266.
267. Hines, J. S. "Some Characteristics of Migration of Blacks in United States." *Social Biology* 18 (1971): 339.
268. Hines, Joseph, and Hanelett, Margaret L. "The Assessment of Adjustment of Aged Negro Women in a Southern City." *Phylon* 23 (Summer 1962): 139-147.
269. Holbrook, Sabra. *The American West Indies*. N.Y.: Meredith Press, 1969.
This book attempts to show the different ways in which Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands have made use of modern technology and modern attitudes imported from the continental United States, and how this new knowledge has affected the lives of selected families. A brief section on migration is included.
270. Hollingshead, A., and Redlich, F. *Social Class and Mental Illness: A Community Study*. N.Y.: John Wiley and Sons, 1958.
271. Hopkins, Richard J. "Occupational and Geographical Mobility in Atlanta, 1870-1896." *Journal of Southern History* 34 (May 1968): 200-213.

272. Horowitz, Michael M., ed. *Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean*. N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1971. The articles of particular interest are on emigration, women and marketing, the position of women in Caribbean society, the effects of migration, and the causes of emigration.
273. Hoyt, V. "The Occupational and Social Adjustment of the British West Indian Immigrant in Manhattan." M.A. thesis, New York University, 1941.
274. Hughes, Blanche R. "Abortion: Perception and Contemporary Genocide Myths: A Comparative Study among Low-Income Pregnant Black and Puerto Rican Women." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1973.
275. Hunt, T. C. "Schooling of Immigrants and Black Americans -- Some Similarities and Differences." *Journal of Negro Education* 45 (1976): 423-431.
276. Hyman, Herbert H. and Reed, John Shelton. "Black Matriarchy Reconsidered: Evidence from Secondary Analysis of Sample Surveys." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 33 (1969): 346-354.
277. Ianni, Francis. "Residential and Occupational Mobility as Indices of Acculturation of an Ethnic Group." *Social Forces* 36 (1957): 65-72.
278. Icken, Helen Margaret. "From Shanty Town to Public Housing: A Comparison of Family Structure in Two Urban Neighborhoods in Puerto Rico." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1962.
279. Indiana University. *The Black Family and the Black Woman: A Bibliography*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Library and the Afro-American Studies Dept., 1972.
280. Infante, Isa Maria. "Politicalization of Immigrant Women from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic."

- Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 1970.
281. Jackson, Jacquelyne J., ed. *Aging Black Women: Selected Readings for NCBA*, (The National Caucus on the Black Aged). Washington: College and University Press, 1975.
282. _____. "But Where are the Men?" *Black Scholar* 3 (1971): 30-41.
Statistical evidence is presented in support of the thesis that the smaller proportion of males in the black population prevents black females from conforming to traditional white American patterns of sex, marriage, and family living. In light of unequal geographic distribution of black males and females, it is suggested that black females be encouraged by educational and occupational opportunities to migrate to states having more black males.
283. Jackson, Sheryl R. "The Influence of Place of Residence on Family Disability among Selected Populations: Southern Blacks, Western Mexican-Americans, Hawaiian Ethnics, and Northeastern Whites." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, College Park, Maryland, 1973.
284. Jaco, Daniel E.; Hagan, Robert J.; and Wilber, George L. *Spanish Americans in the Labor Market*. Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1974.
This study focuses on labor force participation and employment differentials. The participation of Cuban males in the labor force was slightly lower but more like that of whites than any of the other populations. The Cuban female pattern most often resembled that of black women and young, unmarried white females.

285. Jacobs, Sue-Ellen, ed. *Women in Cross-Cultural Perspective: A Preliminary Sourcebook*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, Dept. of Urban and Regional Planning, 1971.
286. Jaywardena, C. "Migration and Social Change: A Survey of Indian Communities Overseas." *Geographical Review* 58 (July 1968): 426-449.
287. Johnson, Daniel M. "Black Return Migration to a Southern Metropolitan Community: Birmingham, Alabama." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri at Columbia, 1973.
288. Johnson, D. M. "Community Satisfaction of Black Return Migrants to a Southern Metropolis." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 3 (1975): 251-259.
289. Johnson, James Weldon. *Black Manhattan*. N.Y.: Knopf, 1930.
Valuable retrospectively for description of gradual increase in predominance of blacks in Harlem.
290. Jones, Barbara Ann Posey. "The Contribution of Black Women to the Income of Black Families: An Analysis of the Labor Force Participation Rates of Black Wives." Ph.D. dissertation, Georgia State University, 1973.
291. Jones, Claudia. "An End to the Neglect of the Problems of the Negro Woman!" *Political Affairs* (June 1949): 51-67 (1930 reprint).
292. Kaiser, E. "Black Migration -- Movement North, 1900-1920." *Science & Society* 41 (1978): 488-492.
293. Kanno, Nellie B. "Comparative Life Styles of the Black Female in the United States and the Black Female in Lesotho." *Journal of Afro-American Issues* (Summer 1974): 212-218.
One of the writer's theses is that the twin

adversities of being both female and black have produced a group of women determined to succeed in societies which practice the most blatant form of oppression and in which it is assumed that the black female presides over a family structure which is undergoing progressive deterioration.

294. Katrowitz, Nathan. "Algunas consecuencias radicales: diferencias educativas y ocupacionales entre los Puertorriqueños blancos y no blancos en los Estados Unidos continentales, 1950," [Some radical consequences: Educational and occupational differences between white and non-white Puerto Ricans in the continental United States, 1950]. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 15 (September 1971): 387-397. A study of the educational and occupational differences among white and non-white, first and second generation Puerto Ricans living in the U.S., based on data from the 1950 census. There appears to be more racial discrimination in the job market than in education.
295. _____. *Ethnic and Racial Segregation in the New York Metropolis: Residential Patterns among White Ethnic Groups, Blacks, and Puerto Ricans*. N.Y.: Praeger Publishers, 1973.
296. Kantrowitz, Nathan. "Social Mobility of Puerto Ricans." *International Migration Review* 2: 53-72.
297. Kaplan, Howard B. "Black Self-derogation and Residential Mobility." *Journal of Health & Social Behavior* 15 (September 1975): 283-290.
298. Katznelson, Ira. *Black Men, White Cities -- Race, Politics, and Migration in United States, 1900-1930, and Britain, 1948-1968*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973 and 1976.

299. Keeler, Martin H., and Vitols, Mintauts M. "Migration and Schizophrenia in North Carolina Negroes." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 33 (April 1963): 554-557.
300. Keely, Charles B. "Effects of the Immigration Act of 1965 on Selected Population Characteristics of Immigrants to the United States." *Demography*, 8 (May 1971): 157-169.
301. Keely, Charles B.; Elwell, Patricia J.; Fragomen, Austin T., Jr.; and Tomasi, Silvano M. *Profiles of Undocumented Aliens in New York City; Haitians and Dominicans*. Staten Island, N.Y.: Center for Migration Studies, 1978.
302. Kennedy, Louise Venable. "The Negro Peasant Turns, Cityward: Effects of Recent Migrations to Northern Centers." Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1930.
303. King, Lourdes Miranda. "Puertorriqueñas in the United States: The Impact of Double Discrimination." *Civil Rights Digest* 6 (Spring 1974): 20-27.

The Puerto Rican woman in the mainland United States feels the impact of a special discrimination as a woman, a black, and as a Puerto Rican. Women predominate among return migrants to Puerto Rico. More than one-fifth were female heads of households.
304. King, Mae C. "The Politics of Sexual Stereotypes." *Black Scholar* 4 (March-April 1973): 12-23.
305. Kleiner, Robert J. and Parker, Seymour. "Goal Striving and Psychosomatic Symptoms in a Migrant and Non-migrant Population." In *Mobility and Mental Health* edited by Mildred H. Kantor. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1975, pp. 78-85.

306. Kleiner, Robert J. and Parker, Seymour. "Migration and Mental Illness: A New Look." *American Sociological Review* 24 (October 1959): 687-690.
This paper reexamines the question of first admission rates to mental hospitals of interstate migrant and non-migrant blacks in Pennsylvania. The data clearly indicate that the southern black migrant population is underrepresented and that both the northern migrants and natives are overrepresented in the statistics on first admissions. These results remain evident when comparisons are made according to sex and age groupings.
307. Kolmer, Elizabeth. "Nineteenth Century Woman's Rights Movement: Black and White.: *Negro History Bulletin* 35 (1972): 178-180.
Discusses the changing attitude of white female suffrage leaders towards blacks as well as their relationship with black women from 1848-1890 and formation of black women's organizations such as National Federation of Afro-American Women, Colored Woman's League, National Association of Colored Women.
308. Kornweibel, Theodore. "An Economic Profile of Black Life in the Twenties." *Journal of Black Studies* 6 (June 1976): 307-320.
This article is an economic review of the migration of U.S. blacks to the cities in the 1920s, the time of the Great Migration. The author documents the population movement in statistical detail with the main thrust of the article concerning the economic consequences of migration, such as its effect on the urban labor force. Fluctuations in the economic picture are shown as they affect black workers. The author argues that the significance of the Great Migration was demographic in the 1920s, not economic.

309. Kristol, Irving. "The Negro Today is Like the Immigrant Yesterday." *New York Times Magazine*, 11 September 1969, pp. 50-51.
An examination of the extent to which problems of black migrants into large cities have relevant precedents in American History.
310. Kutner, Nancy G. *An Interethnic and Place of Residence Examination of the "Culture of Poverty."* College Station, Texas: Texas A and M University, 1975.
Data taps aspects of traits held by Oscar Lewis to comprise a "culture of poverty" and were utilized to examine poor and non-poor families of varied ethnic and residential background. Data obtained through interviews with the main female homemaker pertained to demography, allocation of family resources, education and employment, value orientations, and activities of the family.
311. Lacovia, R. M. "Migration and Transmutation in the Novels of McKay, Marshall, and Clarke." *Journal of Black Studies* 7 (June 1977): 437-454.
The author examines the portrayal of the Caribbean emigrant to North America in the novels of McKay, Marshall, and Clarke. The emigrant believes in geographic movement as essential to self-realization, transmutation of self, and that America is a place where such change is possible.
312. Ladner, Joyce A. "Racism and Tradition: Black Womanhood in Historical Perspective." In *Festschrift: Liberating Women's History*, edited by Bernice A. Carroll. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1976, pp. 179-193.
Past historiography has generally compared the black family to middle-class whites, a method

which emphasizes the weaknesses of the blacks and overlooks their positive features. Author contends that to comprehend the position of black women in today's society, an analysis must be undertaken of family life in pre-colonial African cultures and the structural effects of slavery and modern oppression of blacks. In this way a true assessment of the strengths of the black personality can be made.

313. Ladner, Joyce A. *Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday-Anchor (2nd ed.), 1972.
314. Lee, Everett S. "Migration and Mental Disease: New York State 1949-1951." In *Selected Studies of Migration Since World War II*. Proceedings of the 34th Annual Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund, N.Y., 1957, Part III, pp. 141-150.
Rates for the three-year period 1949-1951 are higher for migrants than for non-migrants when age, sex, and color are controlled. The non-white group with the lowest rates of first admission is the foreign born. Qualifications attached to the conclusion are: (1) First admissions are not ideal indicators of the incidence of mental disease; (2) The factors that impel migration may also result in mental disease, or the early stages of mental disease may be accompanied by migration; and (3) Higher rates of mental disease among migrants to New York State may simply reflect higher rates in the states or country of origin.
315. Lee, Everett S. "Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration: A Philadelphia Test of the Klineberg Hypothesis." In *Demographic Analysis: Selected Readings*, edited by Joseph J. Spengler and Otis Dudley Duncan. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press,

1955, pp. 432-437.

This study is an attempt to test the hypothesis that there is a significant improvement in the intelligence test scores of southern-born black children as the length of residence in Philadelphia increases.

316. Lee, Frank F. "A Comparative Analysis of Colored Grade School Children: Negroes in the United States and West Indians in Britain." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 34 (November 1960): 127-136.
317. Lemlech, Johanna, and Marks, Merle B. *The American Teacher: 1778-1978*. Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976.
318. Lerner, Gerda B., ed. *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History*. N.Y.: Pantheon Books, 1972.
319. Lerner, Gerda B. "Early Community Work of Black Club Women." *Journal of Negro History* 59 (1974): 158-167.
320. Lewis, Diane K. "A Response to Inequality: Black Women, Racism, and Sexism." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 3 (Winter 1977): 339-361.

This paper attempts to explain the initial rejection and then more favorable reaction to the women's movement on the part of black women. To do so, it develops a model of inequality which may illuminate the situation of women in complex societies who experience discrimination because of race and sex. As blacks began to participate more fully in public activities the bulk of the higher-status, authoritative positions meted to blacks went to men, a number of black women became more sensitive to the obstacle of sexism and to the relevance of the women's

movement. However, perpetuation of a situation in which all black men, irrespective of their socioeconomic status, are subject to racism, might well propel increasing numbers of black women, irrespective of class backgrounds, into overt opposition to both sexism and racism.

321. _____. "The Black Family: Socialization and Sex Roles." *Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture* 36 (Fall 1975): 221-237.
322. Lewis, Helen Matthews. *The Woman Movement and the Negro Movement: Parallel Struggles for Rights*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1949.
323. Lewis, Lawrence Thomas. *Some Migration Models: Their Applicability to Negro Urban Migration*. "Ph.D. dissertation, Clark University, 1971.
324. Lewis, Oscar. *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty -- San Juan and New York*. N.Y.: Random House, 1965.
This book is based upon a study of one hundred Puerto Rican families from four slums of Greater San Juan and of their relatives in New York City. The major objectives of the study were to contribute to the understanding of urban slum life in San Juan; to examine the problems of adjustment and the changes in the family life of migrants to New York; to develop a comparative literature on intensive family case studies; and to test and refine the concept of a culture of poverty by a comparison of Mexican and Puerto Rican data.
325. Levitan, Sar A.; Johnston, William B.; and Taggart, Robert. *Still A Dream: The Changing Status of Blacks Since 1960*. Harvard University Press, 1975.
Sections on migration to the city, impact of

such, the effect of migration on family stability, women and occupational gains, women and female-headed black families, and the contribution of women to total black income are included in this study.

326. Lichtenstein, Jules H. . *White Ethnic and Black Economic Assimilation and Mobility: A Study of Employment Patterns and Determinants in Selected SMSAs*. Washington, D.C.: Manpower Administration, 1975.
327. Lieberman, S. and Wilkinson, C. "A Comparison between Northern and Southern Blacks Residing in the North." *Demography* 13 (May 1976): 199-224.
328. Lieberman, S. "Reconsideration of Income Differences Found Between Migrants and Northern-Born Blacks." *American Journal of Sociology* 83 (1978): 940-966.
329. Lifton, Robert J., ed. *The Woman in America* (3 vols.) Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Daedalus Library, 1965.
330. Light, Ivan. "Rotating Credit Associations." In *Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971, pp. 39-44.
The article deals, in part, with a comparison of black immigrants of British West Indian origin and African-Americans. It discusses the former's propensity to operate small businesses within the U.S. while African-Americans have concentrated in service enterprises. According to the author, tradition has played an integral role in the West Indians' business success, especially with reference to *esusu*, the rotating credit system in the West Indies.
331. Livingstone, W. P. "The West Indian and American Negro: A Contrast." *The North American Review*

185 (1970): 645-650.

332. Locke, Ben Z.; Kramer, Morton; and Pasamanick, Benjamin. "Immigration and Insanity." *Public Health Reports* 75 (April 1960): 301-306.
A study of native and foreign born whites admitted to Ohio public mental hospitals during the 1948-1952 period showed that internal migration rather than foreign birth per se is significant. Females made less satisfactory adjustments to migration than did males. The factor of migration should command greater attention -- in two studies it was found that rates for native-born migrants regardless of color or sex, were strikingly higher than those for persons born in the state.
333. Long, Larry H., and Hansen, Kristin A. "Selectivity of Black Return Migration to the South." *Rural Sociology* 42 (Fall 1977): 317-331.
334. Longres, John Frank. "Social Conditions Related to the Acceptance of Modern Medicine among Puerto Rican Women." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1970.
335. Lopata, Helena Znaniecki. "Social Relations of Black and White Widowed Women in a Northern Metropolis." *American Journal of Sociology* 78 (January 1973): 1003-1010.
Based on a modified area probability sample that included 244 white and 52 black older widowed women. This article contrasts their social contacts with organizations, neighbors, siblings, and children. The black women had less education and lower incomes than the white women. But their level of contact with friends, kin, and organizations was about the same as that of whites. The common notion that older black widowed women are surrounded by kin applied to

only about one-third of the respondents in this study.

336. Low, Seth and Spindler, Pearl. *Child Care: Working Mothers in U.S.* Publication 461. Washington, D.C.: Children's Bureau, 1968.
337. Mack, Delores Eliza. "The Husband-Wife Power Relationship in Black Families and White Families." Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1970.
338. Malzberg, Benjamin. "Mental Disease among Native and Foreign-Born Negroes in New York State." *Journal of Negro Education* 25 (Spring 1965): 175-181.
339. _____. "Mental Disease among Puerto Ricans in New York City, 1949-1951." *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 23 (March 1956): 262-269.
An examination of the statistics of first admissions from New York City to all mental hospitals in New York State reveal that per 100,000 the average annual rates of first admissions to mental hospitals among Puerto Ricans are associated in large part with difficult circumstances of life. There is also the probability that migration is an important factor. A migratory population is not a random selection from the total population. This study reveals that a person of Puerto Rican origin has a greater probability of developing a mental disease during a lifetime than an average member of the entire population.
340. Malzberg, Benjamin and Lee, Everett S. *Migration and Mental Disease*. N.Y.: Social Science Council, 1956.
341. Mancuso, T. F. "Lung Cancer among Black Migrants: Interaction of Host and Occupational Environment

- Factors." *Journal of Occupational Medicine* 19 (August 1977): 531-532.
342. Mancuso, T. R. and Redmond, C. K. "Heart Disease Mortality among Black Migrants: Study of Ohio Residents (1960-1967). *American Heart Journal* 90 (March 1975): 380-388.
343. Marshall, Paule. *Brown Girl, Brownstones*. N.Y.: Randon House, 1959.
344. Martin, Anna Cecilia. "Self-Concept, Self-Actualization and Occupational Prestige Aspirations of Black College Students in the Virgin Islands." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1976.
345. Mass, Bonnie. "Puerto Rico: A Case Study of Population Control." *Latin American Perspectives* 4 (Fall 1977): 66-81.
Deals with (1) the relationship between imperialism and migration; (2) imperialism and U.S. population and control policies; and (3) the use of women as experimental subjects for testing contraceptive drugs and devices.
346. Masters, S. H. "Are Black Migrants from South to Northern Cities Worse Off than Blacks Already There?" *Journal of Human Resource* 7 (1972): 411-423.
347. Masters, Stanley H. *A Study of Socio-Economic Mobility among Urban Negroes*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, 1970.
348. Matthews, Dom Basil. *Crisis of the West Indian Family*. Greenwood Press, 1971.
This is a study in the structure and organization of the family among the descendants of the West African peoples who were introduced to the West Indies as slaves. The treatise concentrated on the Afro-West Indian family in Trinidad, but its

conclusions are applicable to the West Indies generally.

349. Maurer, Neil. "The Scope and Causes of Black Migration." *City: Magazine of Urban Life and Environment* 5 (March/April 1972): p. 11.
350. Maynard, Edward S. "Endogamy among Barbadian Immigrants to New York City." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1972.
351. Mayo, Selz C. and Hamilton, C. Horace. "The Rural Negro Population of the South in Transition." *Phylon* 24 (1963): 160-171.
352. McAdoo, Harriette Pipes. "Factors Related to Stability in Upwardly Mobile Black Families." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 40 (November 1978): 761-776.

The impact of upward mobility over three generations on the extended kin network of black parents in the mid-Atlantic area was examined. Extensive involvement had been maintained in both the middle and working classes and those living in urban and suburban sites. The reciprocal obligations of the help-exchange patterns were not perceived as excessive, but were stronger for those born in the working class. Educational achievement and maternal employment peaked in the generation in which mobility occurred. Kin interaction was high with low geographic mobility. Results indicate that extended help patterns are culturally rather than solely economically based.
353. McClusky, John. "The City as a Force: Three Novels by Cyprian Ekwensi." *Journal of Black Studies* 7 (December 1976): 211-224.

The personal experiences involved in a move from the country to the city have proven typical

enough thematically to link writers in diverse cultures. When compounded with the personal struggles against racism and neocolonialism, the personal costs involved in the rural to urban transition become even more similar in a discussion of the works of writers in Africa, Afro-America, and the West Indies.

354. McDonagh, E. C. "Attitudes Toward Ethnic Farm Workers in Coachella Valley." *Sociology and Social Research* 40 (September 1955): 10-18.
355. Miller, Elizabeth W. *The Negro in the United States: A Bibliography*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966.
356. Miller, Ann Ratner. "Components of Labor Force Growth." *Journal of Economic History* 22 (1962): 47-58. Suggests that, contrary to popular opinion, the migration of southern blacks into northern industrial centers between 1920 and 1950 did not serve as the primary source of labor, which in the period 1890-1920 was supplied by foreign immigration; rather it was the increasing use of female labor that took up the slack created by immigration restriction.
357. Miller, Steven I. and Kavanagh, Jack. "Catholic School Integration and Social Policy: A Case Study." *Journal of Negro Education* 44 (Fall 1975): 482-491.
358. Millman, M. and Kanter, R. M., eds. *Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday-Anchor, 1975.
359. Mills, C. Wright; Senior, Clarence; and Goldsen, Rose Kohn. *The Puerto Rican Journey: New York's Newest Migrants*. N.Y: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1950.

360. Mohr, Nicholas. *In Nueva York*. N.Y.: Dial, 1977.
361. Monu, Erasmus Dziewonu. "Some Socio-economic Characteristics of Black Migrants in the United States." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin - Madison, 1972.
362. Moore, Truman E. *The Slaves We Rent*. N.Y.: Random House, 1965.
Describes migrant workers' lives.
363. Moorhead, James William. "Negro Suburban Migration: 1955-1960." Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1971.
364. Mortimer, Delores M. "Caribbeans in America: Some Further Perspectives on Their Lives." In *Caribbean Immigration to the United States*, edited by Roy Bryce-Laporte and Delores M. Mortimer. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1976, pp. 182-192.
Brief journalistic article exploring what the process of immigration to the U.S. entails for professional sojourners such as international employees, diplomats, students, permanent residents, and their offspring.
365. Moses, Earl Richard. "Migrant Negro Youth: A Study of Culture, Conflict, and Patterns of Accommodation among Negro Youth." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1948.
366. Moses, Yolanda T. "Female Status, the Family and Male Dominance in a West Indian Community." Paper presented to the Women and Development Conference at Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., 1976.
This article examines male dominance and its effect on female economic contributions to the family in Montserrat. The author found little role conflict between middle-class men and women

because women believe they are subordinate to men (an attitude found more frequently in middle-class women than working-class women). Although working class women say they consider themselves subordinate to men, the majority support themselves. Despite this reality, women perpetuate the male-dominance ideology through child-rearing socialization practices. However, because of the economic reality, sons are not prepared to take on the responsibilities that the ideology would demand.

367. Mossell, Sadie Tanner. "The Standard of Living among One Hundred Negro Migrant Families in Philadelphia." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1921.
368. Mott, Frank L., et al. *Years for Decision: A Longitudinal Study of the Educational, Labor Market and Family Experiences of Young Women, 1968 to 1973. Volume Four.* Columbus, Ohio: Center for Human Resource Research, Ohio State University 1977.

Chapter 6 of this study analyzes causes and consequences of migration for the economic welfare of young women and their families.
369. Myers, Lena W. "Black Women and Self-Esteem." In *Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science*, edited by M. Millman and R. M. Kantor. N.Y.: Doubleday-Anchor, 1975, pp. 240-250.
370. _____. "A Study of the Self-Esteem Maintenance Process among Black Women." Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1973.
371. Mugge, Robert Herman. "Negro Migrants in Atlanta." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1957.

372. Mulhare de la Torre, Mhirta. "Sexual Ideology in Pre-Castro Cuba." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1969.
373. Murdock, George Peter. *Ethnographic Bibliography of North America*. 3rd. ed. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1960.
374. Murphy, H. B. M. "Migration and the Major Mental Disorders." *Mobility and Mental Health*, edited by Mildred B. Kantor, pp. 5-29. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas Pub., 1965.

"In the U.S., mental hospitalization rates for blacks are usually much higher than rates for whites. However, nearly all recent studies of migrant hospitalizations tabulate whites and non-whites separately and demonstrate that migrants have higher rates in each category."
375. Murray, Pauli. "The Liberation of Black Women." In *Voices of the New Feminism*, edited by Mary Lou Thompson, pp. 87-102. Boston: Beacon Press, 1970.
376. _____. *Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family*. N.Y.: Harper-Row, 1956.
377. Nag, Moni. "The Pattern of Mating Behavior, Emigration and Contraceptives as Factors Affecting Human Fertility in Barbados." *Social and Economic Studies* 20 (February 1971): 111-133.

During the 1920-1962 time period the birth rate for Barbados was lower than that of any other nonindustrial society even though the use of modern contraceptives was limited. Two characteristics intrinsic to the demographic situation of Barbados, as well as other Caribbean countries, were a pattern of mating behavior with a high degree of instability of union and a pattern of emigration resulting in a lower proportion of men than women in the reproductive years of life.

378. Nelkin, Dorothy. "A Response to Marginality: The Case of Black Migrant Farm Workers." In *Afro-American Anthropology: Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Norman Whitten, Jr. and John Szwed. N.Y.: The Free Press, 1970, pp. 289-302.
379. New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations. *Negroes in the City of New York*. N.Y.: N.Y. City Commission on Intergroup Relations, 1961.
380. New York State Department of Labor. "Puerto Ricans in the New York State Labor Market." *Industrial Bulletin*, 36 (August 1957): 17-19.
381. *New York Times*. "Change in the U.S. Immigrant Profile Since 1965 Law Took Full Effect in 1968." August 31, 1970, p. 1.
382. _____. "Dominican Immigration to the U.S." May 15, 1970, p. 3.
383. _____. "Number of West Indians Living in New York City Rapidly Increasing." June 12, 1974, p. 47.
384. _____. "Sharp Increase in Haitian Immigrants Living in Brooklyn." April 25, 1971, p. 84.
385. _____. "U.S. Ethnic Profile Undergoing Marked Change." June 14, 1971, p. 37.
386. Newman, Dorothy K. "The Negro's Journey to the City -- Part I." *Monthly Labor Review* 88 (May 1965): 502-507.
Survey of black migrant experiences in housing, employment, education, and income.
387. _____. "The Negro's Journey to the City -- Part II." *Monthly Labor Review* 88 (June 1965): 644-649. Compares black migrants' experiences with those of white immigrants.
388. Newman, Dorothy K. and Steffes, Robert B. *Occupational Attainment of Ethnic Groups and Women in*

Fifteen Industries: A Report Prepared for the U.S. Equal Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Washington, D.C.: National Urban League Research Department, 1971.

389. Nicholas, J. D. and Prohias, Rafael J. *Rent Differentials among Racial and Ethnic Groups in Miami*. Boca Raton: Florida Atlantic University, Florida International University Joint Center for Environmental and Urban Problems, 1973.
This is a study of housing discrimination against white, white Cuban, African-American, and black Cuban couples in various types of neighborhoods. In the Cuban area, discrimination seemed to be active against all groups except white Cubans; in the white area, discrimination appeared stronger against white Cubans; in the mixed area, discrimination seemed to follow strictly racial lines, with ethnicity being of no significance.
390. Nieves Falcon, Luis. *El emigrante puertorriqueño*. Rio Piedras: Editorial Edil Inc., 1975.
391. Noble, Jeanne L. "Negro Women Today and Their Education." *Journal of Negro Education* 26 (Winter 1957): 15-21.
392. Novak, Robert T. "Distribution of Puerto Ricans on Manhattan Island." *Geographical Review* 46 (April 1956): 182-186.
According to the 1950 Census approximately 83 percent of Puerto Rican immigrants had settled in New York. They lived in practically all sections, but tended to group themselves in the areas where they predominated. Two reasons are suggested: (1) low-cost housing, where Puerto Ricans could live either with a neighbor or with a family that had preceded them to the United States, even though living conditions are

substandard and (2) location near transportation lines, since the great majority of Puerto Ricans are employed in the service trades, and accessibility to cheap transportation is essential.

393. Oaks, Priscilla. *Minority Studies: A Selective Annotated Bibliography*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1975.
394. Olivero, Carmen G. *Study of the Initial Involvement in the Social Services by the Puerto Rican Migrants in Philadelphia*. New York: Basic Books, Inc. 1972.
395. Omari, Thompson P. "Urban Adjustment of Rural Southern Negro Migrants in Beloit, Wisconsin." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin - Madison, 1955.
396. Otterbein, Keith F. "Caribbean Family Organization: A Comparative Analysis." *American Anthropologist* 67 (1965): 66-79.
Caribbean family organization is characterized by a domestic system in which women play a significant role. This type of family organization is not confined to the Caribbean, but is found throughout the Southern United States and Latin America. M. G. Smith has listed at least twenty-three features which these family systems have in common including (1) a mating system characterized by marriage as well as consensual unions and (2) households headed by persons of either sex.
397. Padilla, Elena. *Up from Puerto Rico*. N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1958.
398. Painter, Nell. "Millenarian Aspects of the Exodus to Kansas of 1879." *Journal of Social History* 9 (Spring 1976): 331-338.
The author considers the millenarian aspects of the migration of Southern blacks to Kansas and

the West following Reconstruction, which she terms the Kansas Fever Exodus. The Kansas Fever Exodus exhibited many features common to religious millenarianism.

399. Palley, Howard A. "The Migrant Labor Problem -- Its State and Interstate Aspects." *Journal of Negro Education* 32 (Winter 1963): 35-42.
400. Palmer, Dewey H. "Moving North: Negro Migration during World War I." *Phylon* 28 (Spring 1967): 52-62.
401. Palmer, Ransford W. "A Decade of West Indian Migration to the United States, 1962-1972: An Economic Analysis." *Social and Economic Studies* 23 (April 1974): 571-587.
This article is a study of West Indian migration to the U.S. using the case of Jamaica through an empirical analysis of the hypothesis that the emigration of workers is a function of the wage differential between Jamaica and the U.S. The conclusions are that the wage differentials between the two countries have remained large during the 1962-1972 time period with little changes occurring, not enough to affect the rate of emigration. In the absence of larger changes, higher wages in the United States will continue to exert a strong pull on available skills in Jamaica and the West Indies.
402. Paredes, Henriques de; Querubina, Izaguirre; et al. *Participación de la mujer en el desarrollo de América Latina y del Caribe*. Santiago: UNICEF, 1975.
403. Parker, S. and Kleiner, R. J. "Social and Psychological Dimensions of the Family Role Performance of the Negro Male." *The Black Male in America: Perspectives on His Status in Contemporary Society*

- edited by D. Y. Wilkinson and R. L. Taylor, pp. 102-118. Chicago: Nelson, 1977.
404. Parker, Seymour. "Characteristics of Negro Mothers in Single Headed Households." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 28 (November 1966): 507-513.
 405. Patterson, Orlando. "West Indian Migrants Returning Home." *Race* 10 (1968): 69-78.
 406. Patterson, S. "Immigrants and Employment." *Political Quarterly* 39 (January-March 1968): 54-69.
 407. Pennington, Stewart and Mitchell, Lonnie E. "Sex Differences in Reactions to Minority Group Status." *Journal of Negro Education* 28 (Winter 1959): 35-41.
 408. Pescatello, Ann. *Female and Male in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973.
 409. _____. "Latina Liberation: Tradition, Ideology and Social Change in Iberian and Latin American Cultures." In *Festschrift: Liberating Women's History*, edited by Bernice A. Carroll, pp. 161-178. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1976.
 410. Philpott, Stuart. *West Indian Migration: The Montserrat Case*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1974.
 411. Picó de Hernandez, Isabel. "La puertorriqueña y las luchas sociales de principios del siglo XX." *Boletín Documental Sobre las Mujeres* 5 (1975): 58-63.
 412. _____.; et al. "The Quest for Race, Sex, and Ethnic Equality in Puerto Rico." Paper prepared for the fifth national meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, San Francisco, Calif., 1974.

413. Picó de Hernandez, Isabel; et al. "Sexual Ideologies and Women's Participation in the Puerto Rican Political Process."
Paper presented to the Women and Development Conference at Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., 1976.
414. Pieron, R.; Mafart, Y.; Lesobre, B.; Hooek, J.
"Tuberculosis in Negro Immigrants." *Semaine Des Hôpitaux* 53 (1977): 805-811.
415. Fiore, Michael J. "Changes in the Mississippi Agricultural Economy and the Problems of Displaced Negro Farm Workers." *American Journal of Psychotherapy* 22 (October 1968): 592-601.
416. Pollack, Nancy J. "Women and Division of Labor: A Jamaican Example." *American Anthropologist* 74 (June 1972): 689-692.
A study of rural Jamaica reveals that women play a major economic role while still caring for their children. This is interpreted as a structural adaptation to local conditions, and is only a temporary phase in the life of the family. While young, a woman is able to work in the sugar cane fields or her garden plot to support herself and her children while simultaneously watching over the latter. She can maintain her family without a male partner to share these duties. This is considered as far from the ideal situation. Since employment is restricted to farm labor, many men leave home during their younger years to find better jobs. By middle age the men will have returned and the couples married. This structural adjustment to the demographic imbalance is made possible by the ecology and nature of subsistence activities.
417. Porter, Dorothy B. *A Working Bibliography on the Negro in the United States*. Ann Arbor, Mich.:

University Microfilm, 1969.

418. Poux, Paddy (Rev.). "Haitian Assimilation in the Life and the Future of the City of New York." M.A. thesis, Fordham Univ., 1972.
419. Prida, Dolores and Ribner, Susan. "Feminists Look at the 100 Books about Puerto Ricans." *Inter-racial Books for Children* 4 (1972): 7-10.
The portrayal of women in children's books on Puerto Rican themes.
420. Puerto Rican Forum, Inc. *A Study of Poverty Conditions in the Puerto Rican Community*. 3rd ed. New York: N.Y., 1970.
421. "Puerto Ricans in the New York State Labor Market." *Industrial Bulletin* 36 (August 1957): 17-19.
At the time of this study the migration of workers from Puerto Rico consisted of seasonal farm workers and urban workers. Many farm workers were employed under an agreement formulated and enforced by Puerto Rico's Department of Labor in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Labor. The migrants found employment in the garment trades, the service trades, light manufacturing, meatpacking, construction, the automobile industry and foundries.
422. "Question of Where You Come From." Conference on the Plight of the Haitian Refugees." *New Yorker* 50 (1974): 23-25.
423. Rabkin, Judith G. and Struening, Elmer L. *Ethnicity, Social Class, and Mental Illness*. N.Y.: Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, 1976.
424. Radin, Norma and Kamii, Constance K. "The Child-Rearing Attitudes of Disadvantaged Negro Mothers and Some Educational Implications." *Journal of Negro Education* 34 (Spring 1965): 138-148.

425. Radzialowski, Thaddeus. "The Competition for Jobs and Racial Stereotypes: Poles and Blacks in Chicago." *Polish American Studies* 32 (Autumn 1976): 5-18.

A number of psychological factors have been used to explain the animosity directed against blacks by immigrant groups in northern industrial cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This study, instead, focuses on certain economic factors which, it is argued, better explain the origin of the fear and the dislike which Poles in Chicago felt toward African-Americans.

426. Read, P. B. "Migration and Mobility: The Myth of a Northern Haven for Blacks." *The Cornell Journal of Social Relations* 5 (Spring 1970): 57-78.

427. "Refugees from Haiti Struggle to Open Up a New Life Here." *New York Times* 25 April 1971, p. 84. Although Haitians have been coming to Brooklyn for more than twenty years "the colony" began in 1965 as a result of a sharp decline in the economy of Haiti. It is estimated that between 75,000 and 100,000 Haitians live in the Brownsville, Crown Heights, and East New York sections of Brooklyn and another 75,000 to 100,000 live in other sections of the City. Most are believed to have overstayed tourist visas or slipped in from Canada. Many have fulfilled requirements for permanent visas by marrying U.S. citizens or finding jobs which satisfy legal requirements for such a visa. Ninety-nine percent are believed to be unprepared for life in the U.S.

428. Reid, Inez Smith. *"Together" Black Women*. N.Y.: Emerson Hall Publishing Co., 1971

429. Reid, Ira De Augustine. *The Negro Immigrant, His Background, Characteristics and Social*

Adjustment, 1899-1937. N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press, 1949.

430. Reischauer, Robert Danton. "The Impact of the Welfare System on Black Migration and Marital Stability." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1971.
431. Rémy, Anselme. "Some Reflections on Caribbean Anthropology with Special Reference to the Family." In *The Family in the Caribbean*, edited by Stanford N. Gerber, pp. 51-64. Rio Piedras: University of Puerto Rico, 1973.
432. Reubens, Edwin P. *Migration and Development in the West Indies.* Kingston, Jamaica: Institute for Social and Economic Research, 1962.
433. Reynolds, Mack. *Puerto Ricans: From Island to Mainland.* New York: Julian Messner, 1969.
434. Rihani, May. *Development as If Women Mattered: An Annotated Bibliography with a Third World Focus.* Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1978.
435. Ripley, C. Peter. "The Black Family in Transition: Louisiana, 1860-1865." *Journal of Southern History* 41 (March 1975): 369-380.
Slave owners generally supported slave marriages. The Civil War shattered the marital stability of slaves. Planters fled the approaching armies, often taking male slaves with them. The Union Army conscripted males for soldiering and work with little regard for their families. The majority of refugees were women who had nowhere to go. The end of the war saw great efforts by former slaves to reunite with their families. The slave family was a strong, cohesive unit which adequately survived the massive dislocations of the war.

436. Roberts, George W. "Emigration from the Island of Barbados." *Social and Economic Studies* 4 (1955): 245-288.
437. _____. "Recent Demographic Trends in Cuba, Haiti and the British Caribbean." In *Population Bulletin of the United Nations*, pp. 42-50. N.Y.: United Nations, No. 5 ST/SOA/Set N/5, 15 July 1956.
438. Roberts, George W. and Sinclair, Sonja A. *Women in Jamaica: Patterns of Reproduction and Family*. Milwood, N.Y.: KTS Press, 1977.
439. Rodabaugh, James H. "The Negro in the Old Northwest." *Trek of the Immigrants: Essays Presented to Carl Wittke*, pp. 219-239. Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana College Lib., 1964.
Records show that Detroit had 129 slaves in its population of 563 in 1706. In the early 1800s the Society of Friends was active in bringing in blacks. In 1848 Illinois and in 1851 Indiana adopted anti-immigration provisions (directed toward blacks) in their constitutions. A counterforce to white racial phobia was humanitarianism of sufficient strength to limit the enforcement of the "Black Laws."
440. Rodman, H.; Nichols, F. R.; and Voydanoff, P. "Lower Class Attitudes Toward 'Deviant' Family Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Study." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 31 (May 1969): 311-318.
441. Roehrich-Leavitt, Ruby, ed. *Women Cross-Culturally: Change and Challenge*. The Hague: Mouton, 1975.
442. Rosaldo, Michelle Z. and Lampshire, Louise, eds. *Woman, Culture, and Society*. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1974.
443. Roseman, C. C. and Knight, P. L. "Residential Environment and Migration Behavior of Urban

- Blacks." *Professional Geographer* 27 (February 1975): 160-165.
444. Rosenberg, Marie Barovic, and Bergstrom, Len V. *Women and Society: A Critical Review of the Literature with a Selected Annotated Bibliography*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1975.
 445. Rosenberg, Terry J. and Lake, Robert W. "Toward a Revised Model of Residential Segregation and Succession: Puerto Ricans in New York, 1960-1970." *American Journal of Sociology* 81 (March 1976): 1142-1150.
 446. Ross, Arthur M. and Ill, Herbert, eds. *Employment, Race, and Poverty*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967.
 447. Ross, Heather L. "Poverty: Women and Children Last." Mimeographed. Washington, D.C.: Urban Inst., 1973.
 448. _____ and Sawhill, I. V. *Time of Transition: Growth of Families Headed by Women*. Washington, D.C.: The Urban Inst., 1975.
 449. Rothberg, Robert I. *Haiti: The Politics of Squalor*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1971.
 450. Rubin, Morton. "Localism and Related Values among Negroes in a Southern Rural Community." *Social Forces*, 36 (March 1958): 263-267.
 451. _____. "Migration Patterns of Negroes from a Rural Northeastern Mississippi Community." *Social Forces* 39 (October 1960): 59-66.
 452. Safa, Helen Icken. "The Female-Based Household in Public Housing: A Case Study in Puerto Rico." *Human Organization* 24 (1965): 135-139.
 453. _____, ed. *Migration and Ethnicity*. The Hague" Mouton, 1975.

454. Safa, Helen. "Puerto Rican Adaptation to the Urban Milieu." In *Race, Change, and Urban Society*, edited by Peter Orleans and William Russell Ellis, Jr., pp. 153-190. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1971.
455. Safilios-Rothschild, Constantina, ed. *Toward a Sociology of Women*. Lexington, Mass.: Xerox College Publishing, 1972.
456. Sagarin, Edward, ed. "Sex and the Contemporary American Scene." Special issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 376 (March 1968) entire issue. See especially "Sexual Patterns in Three Ethnic Subcultures of an American Underclass."
457. Samdani, Ghulan Mohammad. "Migration and Modernization: A Study of Changing Values and Behavior among Former Migrants from the Rural South to Upstate New York." Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1970.
458. Sandell, Steven H. "Women and the Economics of Family Migration." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 59 (November 1977): 406.
459. Sandis, Eva E. "Characteristics of Puerto Rican Migrants To, and From, the United States." *The International Migration Review* 4 (Spring 1970) 22-43.
460. Scanlon, John. *The Black Family in Modern Society: Patterns of Stability and Security*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press (revised edition), 1977.
The major objective of this book is to examine the premise that there is an inextricable link between economic resources and black family structure. The focus is on "stable" (husband-wife present) ongoing, or existing families

-- the hitherto largely overlooked majority of the African-American population. Information is compared about ongoing families and existing as well as ongoing white families plus data on dissolved black families. There are sections on ethnic identity, assimilation, female employment, mobility, and role differentiation.

461. Schacdel, R. P. *Human Resources of Haiti*. Port-au-Prince, A.I.D., 1962.
462. Schenck, Mary Low. "A Southern Negro Girl in a White Northern Family: A Case Study." *Social Work* 14 (July 1969): 77-83.
463. Schlegel, Alice, ed. *Sexual Stratification: A Cross-Cultural View*. N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1977.
464. Schneider, Mark. "Migration, Ethnicity, and Politics: A Comparative State Analysis." *Journal of Politics* 38 (November 1976): 938-962.
Noting that the concept of ethnicity has not been adequately defined, the author defines four dimensions of ethnicity that have played an important role in American politics and have been used by social scientists as analytic foci. Although nationality group identification is one of the dimensions of ethnicity to be examined only Euro-ethnic tensions are focused upon.
465. Schnore, Leo F. and Sharp, Harry. "Racial Changes in Metropolitan Areas: 1950-1960." *Social Forces* 41 (March 1963): 241-253.
466. Schultz, David A. *Coming Up Black: Patterns of Ghetto Socialization*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1969.
Intensive study of small number of "project" families. Looks at how poor migrant black families make a life for themselves in the cities.

467. Schwartz, Michael. "The Northern United States Negro Matriarch: Status versus Authority." *Phylon* 26 (1965): 18-24.
468. Schwendemann, Glenn. "The 'Exodusters' on the Missouri." *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 29 (1963): 25-40.
In 1879 many African-Americans migrated to Kansas. It was difficult to find places for them to settle. Kansas City, Kansas, refused to receive them, and Kansas City, Missouri, was outside the State. Consequently they moved from St. Louis to Wyandotte where they were received cordially. The migration died down during the summer, but during the winter of 1879-1880 the State was deluged by another crown of immigrants from Texas. Based on local newspapers.
469. Scott, Patricia Bell. "The English Language and Black Womanhood: A Low Blow at Self-Esteem." *Journal of Afro-American Issues* 2 (Summer 1974): 218-225.
470. Segal, Aaron Lee, ed. *Population Policies in the Caribbean*. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1975. Government policies regarding birth control in West Indian societies have been a direct consequence of en masse emigration movements. A variety of cases are explored: Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, the Bahamas, Cuba, Curaçao, Puerto Rico, and Haiti.
471. Senior, C. *Annotated Bibliography on Puerto Ricans in the United States*. Puerto Rico: Dept. of Migration, 1959.
472. Senior, Clarence. "Patterns of Puerto Rican Dispersion in the Continental U.S." *Social Problems* 2 (1954): 93-99.

This article details the patterns of dispersion of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. and the factors which influence that dispersion. Puerto Ricans were found in all but nine states by 1910 and this dispersion continued until the early 1950s when economic contraction resulted in the reversal of this trend. Data from 1910 to 1950 censuses reveal that sex and color serve as barriers to Puerto Rican movement; men and fair complexioned individuals of either sex generally have fewer difficulties than women and dark skinned individuals.

473. Senior, Clarence. *"The Puerto Rican Migrant in St. Croix. Rio Piedras: Social Science Research Center, University of Puerto Rico, 1947.*
474. _____. "Puerto Rico's Migration to the Mainland." *Monthly Labor Review* 78 (December 1955): 1354-1358.
The migration from Puerto Rico to the continental United States is composed of two streams which differ significantly in origin, destination and length of stay. This dispersion of the Puerto Rican population began before 1898 so that by 1910 Puerto Ricans were found in thirty-nine states. According to the article, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico provides a program of education and orientation for the migrant to help deal with the problems of language and racism.
475. Shannon, Lyle W. "The Changing World View of Minority Migrants in an Urban Setting." Paper presented at the meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, St. Louis, Missouri, 1976. A series of "world view" or value orientation questions were utilized in generating scale scores that sharply differentiated representative

samples of Mexican-Americans (280), African-Americans (280), and Anglos (413) in a longitudinal study conducted in 1959, 1960 and 1961. Re-interviews conducted in 1971 showed convergence toward specific world views held by Anglos in 1960 had taken place among Mexican-American males, females in high income Mexican-American families, and African-Americans of both sexes, but more so those in high income than low income families.

476. Shannon, Lyle and Shannon, Magdaline. *Minority Migrants in the Urban Community: Mexican-American and Negro Adjustment to Industrial Society*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1973.
477. Sheppard, Harold L. *New Perspectives on Older Workers*. Kalamazoo, Mich.: W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1971.
Document offers four research studies dealing with older workers. The second more technical study "Age and Migration Factors in the Socio-economic Conditions of Urban Black and White Women" compares the labor force status and general well being of older and younger women while also dealing with the impact of urban size.
478. Sherman, Richard B. "Johnstown v. the Negro: Southern Migrants and the Exodus of 1923." *Pennsylvania History* 30 (Fall 1963): 454-464.
479. Shin, Eui-Hang. "Effects of Migration on the Educational Levels of the Black Resident Population at the Origin and Destination, 1955-1960 and 1965-1970." *Demography* 15 (Fall 1978): 41-56.
480. Shin, Eui-Hang. "Trends and Variations in Efficiency of Black Interregional Migration Streams." *Sociology and Social Research* 62 (1978): 228-245.

481. Shontz, Donald William. "A Comparative Analysis of Agricultural Migrant and Inner City Negro Disadvantaged Preschool Children on Several Psycho-educational Dimensions." Ph.D. dissertation, The Florida State University, 1972.
482. Siegel, A. I. "The Social Adjustments of Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia." *Journal of Social Psychology* 46 (August 1957): 99-110.
A study of Puerto Rican residents of Philadelphia on the basis of the information obtained from 102 interviews from native-born American neighbors. The study emphases were: (1) the number and rate of increase of Puerto Rican population; (2) its major demographic features such as age, health, ratio of males to females, marital status, nativity, and mobility; (3) social adjustments these migrants were making.
483. Siegel, Jay. "Intrametropolitan Migration -- Simultaneous Model of Employment and Residential Location of White and Black Households." *Journal of Urban Economics* 2 (January 1975): 29-47.
484. Siembieda, William J. "Suburbanization of Ethnic of Color." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 422 (November 1975): 118-128.
The suburbanization of ethnics of color made slow progress during the 1960s. Only one major metropolitan area, Los Angeles, was able to double the number of ethnics of color (African-Americans and Mexican-Americans) living outside the central city.
485. Sikula, John Paul. "Problems of Migrant Negro Students in Northern Urban Schools." Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve Univ., 1969.

486. Siplia, Helvi. "Third World Woman: Mastery of Her Own Destiny." *The Zontian* 53 (September 1973): 12-13.
487. Slaby, Andrew E., and Sealy, Joan R. "Black Liberation, Women's Liberation." *American Journal of Psychiatry* 130 (February 1973): 196-200.
The authors interviewed seventy-four randomly selected college students in an attempt to determine reasons for black women's lack of involvement in the women's liberation movement. Black female students showed great concern with blackness and its implications but less concern than their white counterparts about integrating vocational interests with their concept of their sex role. It was noted that the black students' fathers were often of lower occupational, educational, and social status than their mothers. The possible implications of these findings are discussed.
488. Slocum, J. W., Jr. and Strawser, R. H. "Racial Differences in Job Attitudes." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 56 (1972): 28-32.
489. Sly, David F. "Technology, Environment, Organization, and Migration: An Ecological Approach to Southern Negro Migration." Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1971.
490. Smith, Dwight L. *Afro-American History: A Bibliography*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1974.
491. Smith, E. J. "Regional Origin and Migration -- Impact on Black Workers." *Journal of Black Studies* 8 (Summer 1978): 309-320.
492. Smith, Shirley Jeanne. "Industrial Growth, Employment Opportunities, and Migration within and from Jamaica, 1943-1970." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1975.

The study explores the relationship between economic growth, living standards, distribution and mobility of population. The suggestion is made that migrants respond positively to economic conditions, with heavy outflow from rural areas during periods of prosperity, and return to rural areas during depressions. The study concludes that the Jamaican economy has grown dramatically without comparable advantage to the populations at large.

493. Smith, T. Lynn. "The Changing Number and Distribution of the Aged Negro Population of the United States." *Phylon* 18 (Fall 1957): 339-354.
494. _____. "Migration from One Latin American Country to Another." *International Population Conference Proceedings*. Vienna: International Union for the Scientific Study of Populations, 1959, pp. 695-702.
495. _____. "Redistribution of the Negro Population of the United States, 1910-1960." *Journal of Negro History* 51 (July 1966): 155-173.
496. Solien, Nancie L. "Family Organization in Five Types of Migratory Wage Labor." *American Anthropologist* 63 (December 1961): 1264-1280.
An exploratory attempt to classify various types of migratory wage labor and to suggest some of the probable effects of each type of migration on family organization.
497. Souffrant, Claude. "Les Haitiens aux Etats-Unis." *Population*, Special No. 29 (1974): 133.
498. Sowell, Thomas. *Race and Economics*. New York: David McKay Co., 1975.
The book looks at West Indian, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American immigrants to the U.S. among the twentieth century immigrants, with respect to nineteenth century immigrants. A comparison

between West Indian blacks and African-Americans is made and the institution of slavery is utilized to describe the major differences between the two groups. The book provides an overview rather than an in-depth study of the groups within the U.S. economic system.

499. Spaight, Ernest. "The Evolving Black Family in the United States: 1950-1974." *The Negro Educational Review* 28 (April 1976): 113-128.
500. Spiegel, Jeanne. *Working Mothers: A Selected Annotated Bibliography*. Washington, D.C.: Business and Professional Women's Foundation, 1968.
501. Sprague, Robert James. "The Causes of Negro Migration in the South." Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University Graduate School, 1901.
502. Sprangler, Earl. *Bibliography of Negro History*. Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1963.
503. Spray, Jetse. "Sex Differences in Occupational Choice Patterns among Negro Adolescents." *Social Problems* 10 (Summer 1962): 11-23.
504. Spurling, John J. "Social Relationships between American Negroes and West Indian Negroes in a Long Island Community: An Explanatory Examination of Intragroup Relationships in the Addisleigh Park Neighborhood of St. Albans, Long Island, New York." Ed.D. dissertation, New York Univ., 1962.
505. Stack, C. *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community*. N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1974.
506. Stack, Carol B. "Sex Roles and Survival Strategies in an Urban Black Community." In *Women, Culture, and Society*, edited by Michelle Z. Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, pp. 113-128. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1974.

507. Staples, Robert. *The Black Family: Essays and Studies*. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Pub. Co., 1971.
508. _____, ed. *The Black Woman in America: Sex, Marriage, and the Family*. Chicago: Nelson Hall Pub., 1973.
509. _____. "Mystique of Black Sexuality." *Liberator* 7 (March 1967): 8-10.
510. _____. "The Myth of the Black Matriarchy." *The Black Scholar* 7 (February 1970): 8-16.
511. Steahr, T. E. "College-Student Migration to Predominantly Black Institutions of Higher Education in the United States." *Review of Public Data Use* 4 (Fall 1976): 34-41.
512. Steiner, P. E. *Cancer, Race, and Geography*. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1964.
513. Stephens, Jean. "La emigración de negros libertos norteamericanos a haiti en 1824-25." *Emé, Emé Estudios Dominicanos* 3 (Sept.-Oct. 1974): 40-71.
514. Stern, Judith. "Men Are Like That: The Definition of Manhood in Puerto Rico." Paper presented at the 69th Annual Meeting, American Anthropological Association, San Diego, 1970.
515. Stewart, Helen. "Racism or Sexism: Which is the Greater Oppression?" *Brown Sister* (Wellesley College, 1975) pp. 6-12.
516. Stinner, William F. and DeJong, Gordon F. "Southern Negro Migration: Social and Economic Components of an Ecological Model." *Demography* 6 (November 1969): 544-571.
517. Stone, Leroy O. "Net Migration and Sex-Age Composition of Puerto Rico." *Canadian Rural Social Anthropology* 2 (1965): 108-116.

518. Straits, Bruce C. "Residential Movement among Negroes and Whites in Chicago." *Social Science Quarterly* 49 (December 1968): 573-592.
519. Strodbeck, Fred L. "The Poverty-Dependency Syndrome of the ADC Female-Based Negro Family." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 54 (March 1964): 216-217.
520. Stuart, Irving R. "Minorities vs. Minorities: Cognitive, Affective and Conative Components of Puerto Rican and Negro Acceptance and Rejection." *Journal of Social Psychology* 59 (February 1963): 93-99.
521. Susser, Ida and Glick, Nina. "Ethnicity in a New York City School." *Student Anthropologist* 3 (1970): 133-142.
522. Sutton, Constance and Makiesky, Susan. "Migration and West Indian Racial and Ethnic Consciousness." In *Migration and Development: Implications for Ethnic Identity and Political Conflict*, edited by Helen Safa and Brian DuToit, pp. 113-144. The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1975.
This article is a comparative study of Barbadian emigration to the United Kingdom and to the United States with respect to the development of a black identity and political solidarity. English and American societies exhibit different structures of incorporation for the immigrant. In the U.S. West Indians are viewed as black Americans, though they are different. As a result they lose their ethnic distinctness. In both societies the result is the same -- a heightened sense of ethnic identity to distinguish themselves individually, but there is also a tendency to merge with other West Indians, creating a solidarity. Through distinct

processes the individual arrives at the same end in these two different societies.

523. Sutton, Constance; Makiesky, Susan; Dwyer, Daisy and Klein, Laura. "Women, Knowledge and Power." In *Women Cross-Culturally: Change and Challenge*, edited by Ruby Roehrlich-Leavitt, pp. 581-600. The Hague: Mouton, 1975.
Authors offer an account of women's relationship to knowledge and power in three different societies: Moroccan, Tlingit Indian, Afro-Barbadian.
524. Sutton, E. "When the Migrant Child Comes to School." *NEA Journal* 50 (October 1961): 32-34.
Children of migratory agricultural workers in the U.S. face problems in regard to their education, and the author makes suggestions as to how teaching may be made beneficial to the migrant children.
525. Taeuber, Karl E. and Taeuber, Alma F. "The Changing Character of Negro Migration." *American Journal of Sociology* 70 (Winter 1965): 429-441.
526. _____. "The Negro as an Immigrant Group: Recent Trends in Racial and Ethnic Segregation in Chicago." *American Journal of Sociology* 69 (January 1964): 374-382.
527. Taeuber, Karl E. "Racial Segregation: The Persisting Dilemma." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 422 (November, 1975): 87-96.
528. Tanner, Nancy. "Matrifocality in Indonesia and Africa and among Black Americans." In *Women, Culture, and Society*, edited by Michelle Z. Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, pp. 129-156. Stanford Univ. Press, 1974.

529. Tarver, James D. and McLeod, Douglas R. "Trends in the Distance of Movement of Interstate Migrants." *Rural Sociology* 41 (Spring 1976): 119-126.
530. Taylor, Edward. "Return Migration to Jamaica." Paper presented to 71st annual general meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Toronto, November 29-December 3, 1972.
531. Thompson, Mary Lou. *Forces of the New Feminism*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1970.
532. Tidrick, Kathryn. "Need for Achievement, Social Class, and Intention to Emigrate in Jamaican Students." *Social and Economic Studies* 20 (1971): 52-60.

The objective of this paper was to find out what proportion of a sample of Jamaican students planned to emigrate after graduation. Two relevant variables to this decision were studied: social class and the need for achievement. The findings of the study were as follows: Jamaican students who plan to emigrate have a significantly higher need for achievement than those planning to stay in Jamaica, or merely study abroad. There was a tendency too, though statistically insignificant, for lower class students to be less likely to plan emigration. The study indicated the extreme cost of the emigration of educated Jamaicans to the country and also the benefit of the return migration of educated Jamaicans.
533. Till, Thomas; Thompson, Allen; and Marshall, Ray. *Stages of Industrial Development and Poverty Impact in Nonmetropolitan Labor Markets of the South*. Texas University at Austin. Center for the Study of Human Resources. Manpower Administration, Washington, D.C. Office of Manpower Research and Development, 1975.

534. Tome, Martha V., ed. *Proyecto Leer Bulletin, Number 11*. Washington, D.C.: Books for the People Fund, 1972.

Educational materials for students of Spanish and the Spanish-speaking are listed in this bulletin. Lists general reference materials on many subjects including heritage of the Spanish-speaking, migrant workers, Puerto Rican bibliography, Puerto Rican parents, Puerto Rican thought, and women. Also lists books for children and adults. Entries are annotated and often include suggested grade levels.

535. Torres-Matrullo, Christine. "Acculturation and Psychopathology among Puerto Rican Women in Mainland United States." Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers Univ., 1974.

The present study investigates relationships between the stress of acculturation and the existence of psychopathology among Puerto Ricans in mainland United States. The main focus of the study is investigation of whether family and sex-role related attitudes among Puerto Rican women undergo change with increased exposure to North American society; another focus is on how such changes relate to the existence of psychopathology among these women. It was found that family and sex-role attitudes did not change significantly with the level of acculturation. However, the level of education was found to be significantly related to attitude change among these women. An interesting finding in conflict with findings of previous studies of psychopathology among Puerto Ricans in this country was the low incidence of schizophrenia in this sample population.

536. Tucker, C. Jack and Reid, John D. "Black Urbanization and Economic Opportunity: A Look at the Nation's Largest Cities." *Phylon* 38 (March 1977) 55-64.
Emphasis on the 1960-70 period and on migration patterns which are now predominantly between metropolitan areas in contrast to the rural-to-urban patterns of the past.
537. United Nations International Cultural and Education Fund. *Bibliography of Articles on Women*. New York, n.d.
538. _____. *UNICEF Documents about Women*. New York, n.d.
539. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Characteristics of Negro Immigrants to Selected Metropolitan Areas: 1970*. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1973.
540. _____. *Census of Population: 1970. Lifetime and Recent Migration by Educational Attainment for the United States: 1970*. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1973.
541. _____. *Census of the Population: 1970. Subject Reports. Mobility for Metropolitan Areas*. Washington, D.C. GPO, 1973.
542. _____. *Census of the Population: 1970. Subject Reports: National Origin and Language*. Washington, D.C. GPO, 1973.
543. _____. *Census of Population: 1970. Subject Reports: Negro Population*. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1973.
544. _____. *Census of the Population: 1970. Subject Reports: Persons of Spanish Origin*. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1973.

545. U.S. Department of Labor. *U.S. Working Women: A Databook*. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1977.
546. _____. Bureau of Employment Security, Division of Reports and Analysis. *Puerto Rican Farm Workers in Florida: Highlights of a Study*. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1955.
547. _____. *Negro Women in the Population and the Labor Force*. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1967.
548. _____. *Negro Women War Workers*. Bulletin No. 205. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1945.
549. _____. *Women of Spanish Origin in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1976.
550. Valien, Preston. "Southern Negro Internal Migration Between 1935 and 1940: Its Direction, Distance and Demographic Effects." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin - Madison, 1947.
551. Van den Berghe, Pierre L. "The African Diaspora in Mexico, Brazil, and the United States." *Social Forces* 54 (March 1976): 530-545.
552. _____. *Race and Ethnicity: Essays in Comparative Sociology*. New York: Basic Books, 1970.
553. Vickery, William Edward. "The Economics of the Negro Migration: 1900-1961." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1970.
554. Villemez, Wayne J. and John D. Kasarda. "The Impact of Regional Destination on Black Migrant Income." *Social Science Quarterly* 57 (Fall 1977): 767-783.
555. _____. "The Ecological Impact of Regional Destination on Black Migrant Income." *Social Science Quarterly* 57 (March 1977): 767-783. This paper describes both the differences in human capital among northern and western migrants,

and differences in return on that capital. The authors confine themselves to an examination of differences in training among black migrants and of destination -- specific differences in level of living and income return on that training. An analysis of the data provide the following conclusions: (1) of the black migrants leaving the south, the more educated tend to go west rather than north; (2) despite superior educations western migrants on the whole are financially worse off than northern migrants; (3) despite higher education relative to whites in their region, western migrants earn less proportionally to whites than do northern migrants. Evidence also suggests that part of the explanation of these results could be due to a premium on higher education in the west where much greater penalties than in the north may accrue to persons with limited education.

556. Vivo, Paquita, ed. *The Puerto Ricans: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: R. R. Bowker, Co., 1973.
557. Walker, James Louis. "Economic Development, Black Employment, and Black Migration in the Non-metropolitan Deep South." Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 1974.
558. Walsh, Bryan O. "Cuban Refugee Children." *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 13 (July-October 1971): 378-415.
During the period 1959 to 1971 almost half a million Cubans sought refuge in Miami. Among them were over 14,000 unaccompanied children between 6 and 18 years of age. This article discusses how the children's exodus began. It covers the period between the middle of November 1960, when awareness of the issue became known, and February 1961, when a government aid program for Cuban refugees was announced.

559. Watson, Vernaline. "Self-Concept Formation and the Afro-American Woman." *Journal of Afro-American Issues* 2 (Summer 1974): 226-236.
560. Weatherwax, John M. "Los Angeles 1781." *Negro History Bulletin* 18 (Winter 1954): 9.
A short description of the founding of Los Angeles in 1781 by 24 Mexican immigrant families on the orders of King Charles III of Spain. Twenty-six of the founders were of Negro origin. The only two whites were married to Indian women.
561. Weaver, Robert C. "Non-White Population Movements in Urban Ghettos." *Phylon* 20 (Fall 1959): 235-241.
562. Weber, Arnold B. "The Role of the Department of Labor in Immigration," *The International Migration Review* 4 (Summer 1970): 31-46.
563. Weiss, L. and Williams, J. G. "Black Education, Earnings, and Interregional Migration -- Some New Evidence." *American Economic Review* 62 (Summer 1972): 372-383.
564. _____. "Black Education, Earnings, and Inter-regional Migration -- Even Newer Evidence." *American Economic Review* 65 (Winter 1975): 241-244.
565. Welch, Barbara. "Population, Density and Emigration in Dominica." *Geographical Journal* 134 (June 1968) 227-235.
The paper is a study of determinants of mass emigration from the West Indies to the United Kingdom from 1953-1961, with special emphasis placed on the case of the island of Dominica. The author states that external factors have highly determined the outflow of population rather than the rapidly rising rate of population growth within the Caribbean. According to

this study the physical population pressure is the least significant motive for emigration. This article is applicable to Caribbean migration to the U.S. since the 1965 Act with respect to motivational aspects.

566. Welsch, Erwin K. *The Negro in the United States: A Research Guide*. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1965.

567. Weston, Peter J. and Mednick, Martha T. Race. "Race, Social Class, and Motive to Avoid Success in Women." *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology* 1:3 (1970): 284-291.
Black and white college women were compared on their fantasy responses to fictional situations suggesting male-female competition. It was hypothesized that black college women would exhibit fewer motive-to-avoid success responses (M-s) than white college women, and that lower class black women would have fewer M-s responses than middle-class black women. Subjects were 50 black and 13 white undergraduate women enrolled at Bluefield State College, and 11 black and 11 white undergraduate women enrolled at American University. Significantly fewer black women at both schools exhibited M-s responses than did white women. And, it is suggested that the traditional assertiveness of black females causes successful women to be regarded as economic assets rather than threats to black manhood. An alternative suggestion is that black women are unable to project themselves into high aspiration careers and thus do not identify with or fear social rejection due to success at that level.

568. White, Noel. "The Contribution of West Indian Immigrants to the Negro Community in the U.S." M.A. thesis, Columbia Teachers College, 1968.

569. Williams, Edward B. "Negro Migration in Four Selected Counties of the Southeastern Region of the United States." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia Univ. 1953.
570. Williams, Ora. *American Black Women in the Arts and Social Sciences: A Bibliographic Survey*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1973.
571. Willie, Charles V., ed. *The Family Life of Black People*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Pub., 1970.

A series of articles which describe and analyze the many variations and adaptations which characterize the family life of African-Americans. Twenty-six articles deal with the issue of stability and instability in family life. Included are some articles specifically relating to black women in the American Work force and assertiveness within the family.
572. Women's Liberation Group. *Adlib: The Voice of Women's Liberation in Jamaica*. Kingston, Jamaica, 1974.
573. Wood, Helen C. "Children Who Move with the Crops." *Journal of the National Education Association* 47 (March 1958): 170-172.

A description of the efforts taken by educators in Fresno County to assure a better education for migrant children. By working together on the problem of educating the migrant children, the schools have been able to reinforce one another's efforts. Efforts made by the schools show definite results when the curriculum is realistically based on a direct study of children's needs.
574. Wood, N. "Summer-School Help for Migrant Workers' Children." *Journal of the National Education Association* 51 (May 1962): 18-19.

The summer school program for the children of Spanish-American migrant workers at Liberty School in Colorado is described. The state reimbursed the district for all current operating expenses. Attendance stayed up remarkably well for the whole season. Language was a barrier but never an insurmountable one. Only a few of the migrant children were on a grade level for their age. Health habits were taught and the children were checked by a nurse and given preventive shots.

575. Woods, F. J. "Black Man Comes to City -- Documentary Account from Great Migration to Great Depression, 1915-1930." *Social Science Quarterly* 55 (1974): 204.
576. Woofter, Thomas Jackson. "Negro Migration, Changes in Rural Organization and Population of the Cotton Belt." Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia Univ., 1921.
577. Wray, S. R. and McLaren, E. "Parent-Child Separation as a Determinant of Psychopathology in Children: A Jamaican Study." *West Indian Medical Journal* 25 (December 1976): 251-257. Among 154 new clients attending a child psychiatric clinic in Jamaica in 1975, 33 percent had experienced early childhood separation from their parents or parent figure. More males (57.7 percent) than females (42.3 percent) had experienced separation. Migration was primarily responsible for the separation, and was more disruptive to boys than to girls.
578. Wright, Dale. *They Harvest Despair: The Migrant Farm Worker*. Boston: Beacon, 1965.
579. Wrigton, Fred McGehee. "Negro Migration and Incomes in Mississippi." D.B.A. dissertation, Mississippi State Univ., 1972.

580. Yamamoto, Kinzo. "Assimilation of Migrant Negroes in the District of Columbia: A Study of the Effect of Length of Residence on Urban Life Adjustment." Ph.D. dissertation, The Pennsylvania State Univ. 1971.
581. Zeisel, Hans. "The Race Question in American Immigration Statistics." *Social Research* 16 (June 1949): 222-229.
The author argues for the removal of racial classification in the American immigration statistics citing inconsistencies which rendered the system inadequate.
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For RIIES this work represents one more proud achievement in our effort to stimulate, facilitate and disseminate crucial works on the New Immigration. Clearly, we feel that both by intentions and contents this volume carries out the charges of the Smithsonian Institution, "to increase and diffuse knowledge." Nevertheless, we wish to clarify that we do not purport to represent by this work the official policy or position of the Smithsonian Institution. Rather as editors and contributors we maintain sole responsibility for our respective pieces herein contained.

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